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J. W. MACALISTE
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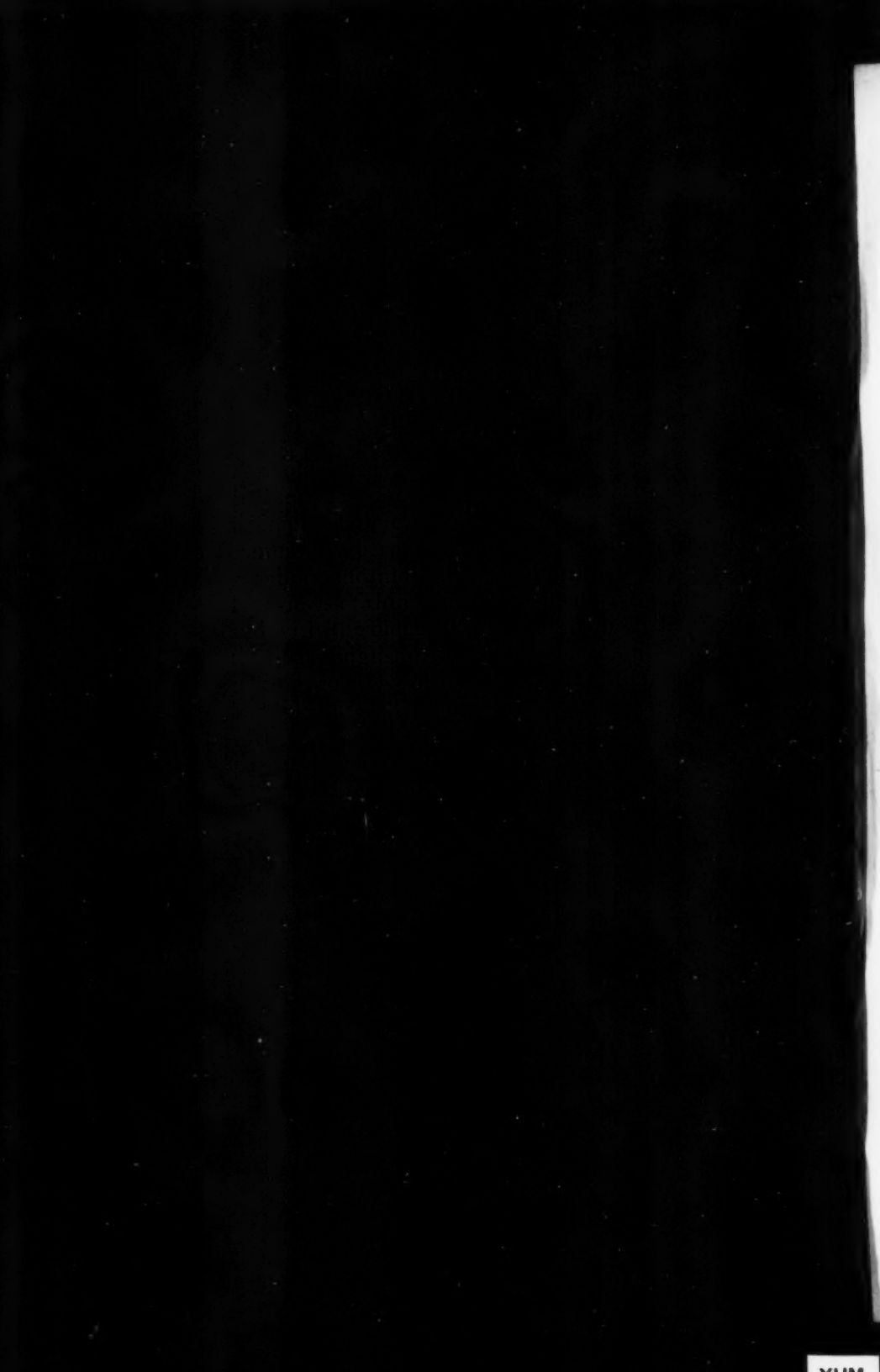
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THE LIBRARY.

HENRY BYNNEMAN, PRINTER,
1566-83.

THE printer, whose work is the subject of the following article, was one of a little group to whom Archbishop Parker extended his patronage and encouragement between the year 1560 and his death in 1575, and whose claim to that patronage rested solely upon their excellence as craftsmen in the art of printing.

Foremost in that group was John Day, who ever since 1559 had been turning out books, the like of which, for beauty of type and decoration, had not been produced in England since the days of Richard Pynson, and who, at the Archbishop's desire, had cast a fount of Saxon type, a feat never hitherto attempted in this country.

Although overshadowed by his great contemporary, Henry Bynneman deserved the praise and merited the support of the scholarly archbishop, for he printed good literature and he printed it well. His work shows that he took a pride in the appearance of his books. The arrangement of his title-pages was invariably artistic. His setting and

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spacing, and the use which he made of printers' ornaments in the divisions of chapters and as borders, shew him to have been a careful workman. In short, Bynneman was one of the few English printers of the sixteenth century whose work merits special notice.

The first recorded fact about Henry Bynneman is the entry in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of his apprenticeship for eight years from the 24th June, 1559, to Richard Harrison, a printer in London.

The earliest entries of apprenticeship, unlike the later ones, do not give either the parentage or the locality from which the apprentice came, and no light can be thrown on these details of Bynneman's history. His master, Richard Harrison, was for a short time in partnership with Reginald Wolfe, the printer in St. Paul's Churchyard, but subsequently set up for himself in White Cross Street, Cripple-gate, where he published an edition of the Bible in 1562, and where he died in the following year. An interesting memento of Bynneman's connection with Richard Harrison is preserved in the British Museum in the shape of a copy of Harrison's Bible, on the title-page of which below the frame is printed the words, 'Meus possessor verus est Henricus Binnem[annus],' the letters in brackets having been erased.

Bynneman had yet four years of his apprenticeship to complete at the time of Harrison's death, and Herbert suggests that he transferred his services to Reginald Wolfe. While there is much that can be said in support of this, there is as much

that may be said against it. In the first place, there is no evidence that Bynneman transferred his services to anybody. It was usual in such cases to make an entry in the Registers, and there is no such entry. Again, if the excellence of his presswork be taken as evidence, we should be inclined to assign his transfer to John Day rather than to Reginald Wolfe. Finally, we have the fact that the first issue from his press bore the address of the Black Boy in Paternoster Row, the house of Henry Sutton, who, though he appears to have left off printing in 1563, was certainly taking apprentices as late as 1571.

But whatever may have been Bynneman's movements after the death of Richard Harrison until the 15th August, 1566, when he took up his freedom, there is no doubt that he had become a skilled workman.

His first issue was Robert Crowley's 'Apologie, or Defence of Predestination,' a quarto, bearing the imprint, 'Imprinted at London, in Paternoster Rowe, at the signe of the blacke boy, by Henry Binneman. Anno 1566, Octobris 14.'

The copyright of this work appears to have been shared by Henry Bynneman and Henry Denham, as some copies bear the latter printer's name and address in the imprint, though the presswork is the same in all, the only other difference between them being that Bynneman's copies want the list of errata. The chief typographical features of the book may be briefly noticed.

The title-page is surrounded by a border of printers' ornaments, technically termed a 'lace'

border. The epistle 'To the Reader' has a large fourteen-line wood-cut initial B, with flowers and foliage conventionally treated. The text is printed in a clear, sharp fount of black letter, with roman and italic as supplementary types, and the compositors' work throughout is excellent.

Our knowledge of the rest of Bynneman's work in 1566 is confined to the entries that occur under his name in the Stationers' Registers, and we must therefore judge his work and see how his printing-office was furnished, by the books that came from his press in the succeeding twelve months.

Copies of eight books printed by Bynneman in 1567 have been found, three of them quartos of some size and the remainder small octavos. The quartos are (1) Boccaccio's 'Philocopo,' a series of disputations about love, translated from the Italian under the title of 'A pleasante Disporte of Divers Noble Personages,' entered in the Register by Richard Smyth, before the 22nd July, 1567, and printed for Richard Smyth and Nicholas England; (2) the second volume of Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure,' a collection of tales from the best French and Italian authors which Bynneman printed for Nicholas England and finished on 8th November; (3) Jewel's 'Confutation of M. Dorman,' a theological work of upwards of four hundred folios, which was finished on 24th November, 1567.

The most interesting of these is the 'Palace of Pleasure.' In this, as in Crowley's 'Apologie,' we see the title-page set in a deep 'lace' border. Each novel or tale was commenced with a decorative wood-cut initial of the same size and character as

that seen in Crowley's 'Apologie.' At the first glance these letters appear to be identical with a set used by Richard Jugge at this time, but a careful comparison has been made and proves that they were a distinctive set. As a matter of fact, no less than four other printers besides Bynneman are found to have used a similar set of initials, John Day, Henry Denham, Richard Jugge, and Reginald Wolfe, and the resemblance between these sets in size and appearance is so close that nothing short of actual comparison and measurement serves to distinguish them. Those used by Bynnemann were apparently his own property, and he continued to use them throughout his career.

The Boccaccio is printed with the same type and ornaments, but the imprint runs, 'Imprinted at London, in Pater-Noster Rowe at the signe of the Marmayd, by H. Bynnemann for Richard Smyth and Nicholas England Anno Domini 1567; and the printer's device, showing the sea-maiden combing her tresses by the aid of a hand mirror, makes an effective ornament to the title-page. Bynneman may have adopted this sign without moving from the premises from which he had issued Crowley's 'Apologie,' and it is quite possible also that Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure' was printed at the Mermaid.

Amongst the octavos of the year 1567, the most interesting were a selection from the Greek author, Epictetus, translated by James Sandford, and printed for Leonard Mayler or Maylard, a bookseller living at the sign of the Cock in St. Paul's Churchyard, and a selection from the Latin poet, Baptista Mantuanus, turned into English verse by George

Turberville, both of which books bore on the title-page the device of the Mermaid.

In addition to these eight books, Bynneman printed towards the latter end of 1567 several proclamations concerning a public lottery. The first and largest of these, nearly three feet long, was surrounded by a border of printers' ornaments, and was headed by a large and roughly executed woodcut of the prizes. The Grenville copy of this proclamation has not the woodcut, which is only known from a unique copy in the library of the late James More Molyneux at Losely House, in Surrey, and the reproduction in the catalogue and description of the manuscripts by Alfred John Kempe, F.S.A., in 1836 (B.M. 807, d. 10).

This lottery was made by the Queen's command, and its object was to raise money 'for the repair of the havens and strengthe of the realme, and towards such other publique good workes.' Four hundred thousand lots of the value of ten shillings each were issued, and the prizes consisted of ready money, plate, and linen. The first prize was of the value of five thousand pounds, the second three thousand five hundred pounds, the third three thousand. There were nine thousand prizes of fourteen shillings each, and every adventurer, whether he won a prize or not, was to receive two shillings and sixpence. The prizes were on view at a goldsmith's shop in Cheapside known as the Queens Majesties Armes. This proclamation bore the imprint of Paternoster Row, but the second issue, which gave an extension of time, was dated from 'Knightrider Street at the signe of the

Mermaide, anno 1567, Januarii 3' (in other words, 3rd January, 1568), showing that the printer had again changed his address.

Settled in his new premises, Bynneman's business rapidly increased. During the year 1568, we find him printing for John Wight, Thomas Hacket, and Leonard Mayler or Maylard. For the first-named he printed in quarto an edition of a very popular medical work, 'The Secrets of Alexis,' in which a few new founts of type are noticeable on the title-page, the first line of which is printed in German text letters. Also above the imprint is seen the block of a figure with horses, and the motto 'Armi-potenti Angliae,' generally associated with the publisher Nicholas England, who may have had some share in the venture. The book is further interesting, as having at the end of the first part below the colophon, a small form of Bynneman's device, measuring only 54 by 43 mm., not found, as far as we know, in any other book.

For Thomas Hacket, Bynneman printed a translation of Andrew Thevet's 'Singularitez de la France Antarctique,' under the title of 'The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike,' a quarto of nearly a hundred and fifty folios. In this a great primer black, a handsome letter, makes its appearance in the preliminary matter, the rest of the types being those already noticed.

Another quarto of the greatest interest, that came from Bynneman's press in 1568, is the old play or interlude of 'Jacob and Esau.' This furnishes another link in Bynneman's connection with Henry Sutton, as it was one of Sutton's copyrights,

and had been entered by him in the Register ten years before. The play was written for eleven performers, and is described by J. P. Collier in his 'History of Dramatic Poetry' as superior to anything of the kind which had preceded it. It was printed throughout in pica black letter with a few founts of roman and italic for running title, headings to acts and scenes and marginalia, and with the exception of a small wood-cut initial at the beginning of the prologue, was without ornament of any kind.

But the book of the year 1568 was undoubtedly Dr. John Caius' 'De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensi Academiæ,' a work of considerable antiquarian interest, which came from Bynneman's press in August. As a piece of printing the book, an octavo of nearly four hundred pages, is notable as being set up throughout in pica italic type, with marginalia in roman. Here and there a fount of Anglo-Saxon is introduced, which was undoubtedly borrowed from John Day, who printed subsequent editions of the work. Finally, this book, unlike most of those hitherto printed by Bynneman, was paged throughout instead of only the leaves being numbered. To the 'De Antiquitate' was added 'Assertio antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ,' a work of sixteen leaves or thirty-two pages, which differs from the 'De Antiquitate' by being printed throughout in nonpareil roman, with italic for marginalia. The printer's large device occupies the recto of the last leaf.

Space and time alike prevent us from doing more than enumerate some of the other interesting issues

of the year 1568. The 'Plain Path to perfect Vertue' was a translation by George Turberville of the old moral treatise of Mancinus known as 'The Mirrour of good maners,' first translated by Alexander Barclay, and printed many years before both by Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson. Turberville's attempt to dress it in jingling rhyme was hardly a success. 'The Enemy of Idleness' of William Fulwood was a work treating of the art of letter writing, with examples from French, Italian, and classical models. An English translation of the Histories of Polybius, made by Christopher Watson, was another of the important octavos, and was published by Thomas Hacket, and two Dutch pamphlets on religious questions were also amongst the curiosities of Bynneman's press in 1568.

During the 1569 Matthew Parker exerted himself actively on the printer's behalf. On the 9th August, he wrote a letter to Lord Burghley, in which the following passage occurred:

Sir, I am styl sued onto bi the prynter bineman, to entreate yo' honor to optayne for hym a privilege for prynting two or iii vsual bokes for grammarians, as Therence, Virgile or Tullye's office, etc. he feareth that he shal susteyne great loss of hys prynted bokes of the Lotarye. I thinke he shulde do this thing aptly inough, and better cheape then they may be bought frō beyond the seas, standyng the paper and goodnes of his prynt, and it wer not amys to set our own contrymen on werke, as they wold be diligent, and take good correctors. He hath brought me a litle pece of his workmanship in a tryall, w^{ch} he desiereth to be sent to yo' honor, to see the forme & order of his prynt. (Lansdowne MS., XI. art. 62.)

This letter has often been quoted, but always wrongly, the word 'characters' being substituted for 'correctors.' Matthew Parker was insisting upon a correct text, rather than a well-printed book, being perfectly satisfied that on the latter score he could depend upon Bynneman's workmanship. As some doubt has been expressed as to the meaning of the passage referring to 'hys prynted bokes of the Lotarye,' I may say that Mr. Robert Steele, who knows more about English proclamations than any one else, believes it to refer to the broadside proclamations already referred to and not to books as we understand the word.

Though no official record of any such grant in 1569 has been found, Parker's efforts were evidently successful, as several of the books printed by Bynneman within the next two years bore the words 'Cum privilegio' or 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.' They are found in the two most notable books that came from his press in that year, Johan Van der Noot's 'Theatre for Worldlings,' always to be remembered as containing the first printed verse of Edmund Spenser, and 'Volusianus, Epistolæ Duæ . . . de Celibatu Cleri,' the colophon of which states that the printing was finished on 23rd August, i.e. a fortnight after the date of the archbishop's letter.

Of the three books particularly mentioned in that letter those of Terence and Virgil were entered by Bynneman in the Registers before the 22nd July, 1570, and the British Museum possesses an octavo edition of Virgil's Opera from his press, dated in that year, but without the privilege clause.

Another issue of the year 1569 that is bibliographically interesting is Thomas Norton's 'Warning against the dangerous Practices of Papists and specially of Partners of the late Rebellion,' one of the many tracts called forth by the recent trouble in the north of England. A copy of this tract with Bynneman's name as printer was noticed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1828 (Pt. II., p. 502). Two other editions, both without date, were printed by John Day, and copies of these are in the British Museum, but no other copy printed by Bynneman appears to be known.

As in the two preceding years, so in 1569 Bynneman entered a large number of books in the Registers, which are either lost altogether, or only known from fragments. Some of these were perhaps ventures of his own, or work undertaken directly for the authors. But for the bulk of his business he was dependent on the publishers, and this branch of his trade was steadily growing every year. Thus amongst those whose names are met with in books from his press during the next two or three years are George Bishop, Francis Coldocke, Thomas Hacket, Lucas Harrison, William Norton, Richard Smith, Humphry Toy, and Richard Watkins. A further indication of his prosperity is shown by the fact that in 1572, in addition to his printing-office in Knightrider Street, he had a bookseller's shop or shed at the north-west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, which bore the sign of the Three Wells, and is definitely mentioned in the imprint to 'The Survey of the Worlde,' translated by Thomas Twine from the Latin of Dionysius.

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Hitherto we have seen Henry Bynneman as a careful workman, earning commendation from those in high places, and winning the confidence of the first booksellers of the day by reason of the excellence of his work.

But about 1572 or 1573 he was employed by Richard Smith the publisher to print an edition of the poems of George Gascoigne, the manuscript for which we may assume was supplied by the publisher. The volume when issued formed a bulky quarto, and was entitled 'A Hundreth sundrie Flowers bounde up in one small Posie,' etc.

This book is one of those bibliographical eccentricities which it seems hopeless to explain. A very few moments' examination shows that its arrangement is 'mixed.' To begin with, the first two leaves in signature B of the first alphabet are wanting. The pagination skips in one instance from 36 to 45, and in another from 164 to 201. There is a colophon in the middle of the book and another at the end. On the third leaf is found a note from the Printer to the Reader, in which he says, 'Master H. W. in the beginning of this worke, hath in his letter (written to the Reader), etc., etc.' There is no such letter at the beginning of the work, but the reader finds it in the middle of the book, immediately after the first colophon, and forming part of the preliminary matter to the miscellaneous poems, whereas it was clearly intended, both by the tone of the letter itself and from the printer's evidence, that it should come at the beginning of the book.

This is so unlike Bynneman's method of doing his work, that evidently something happened while this book was passing through the press to cause confusion, and thus resulted in the present chaotic make-up of the volume.

It is generally admitted now, that, so far from this being an unauthorized edition of the poet's works, George Gascoigne gave the publisher the manuscript, and knew perfectly well that it was being printed. But on the 19th March, 1573, he left England to serve as a soldier of fortune in the Low Countries. That he was still in correspondence with his publisher is made clear by his sending over the manuscript of a poem describing his voyage, to be included in the published volume, and it is possible that some of the proofs were sent to him for correction, thus causing delay. Meanwhile the printers had started to set up the two plays, for which two hundred pages were allowed. The inclusion of the preliminary matter in the second part was undoubtedly due to carelessness on the part of those who gave out the work, and the whole having been paged throughout, it became impossible to rectify the error. As regards the date of printing, it was late in 1573, if not even some time in 1574, as the black letter type shows signs of wear, and there are initials used in it that we are inclined to think belong to a later date.

Bynneman did just at this time procure a new fount of type. On the 26th August, 1573, the Company of Stationers, after infinite trouble, had run to earth at Hempstead or Hemel Hempstead, the secret press at which Cartwright and his friends

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had been printing their attacks upon the Bishops. There is no evidence that Bynneman had in any way helped in the capture of the press, but in the registers of the year 1574-5, is this entry :

Item, Receyvd of Master Bynneman for wearing
the lettre that came from Hempstead - xvs.

Mr. Arber construes the word 'wearing' as meaning 'using,' but the expression is a peculiar one, and raises a doubt as to whether the printer purchased the type outright, or whether the Company only lent it to him.

This fount was a small Gothic black, either brevier or long primer, and Bynneman first used it to print the preface to a sermon preached by the Bishop of Chichester before the Queen at Greenwich on the 14th of March, 157 $\frac{3}{4}$, and published after the 6th April.

The year 1574 opens a new era in the history of the printer. Up to this time he has moved along with a stock of letter restricted to a few good founts, most of which were getting somewhat worn, while his device of the Mermaid and the set of large wood-cut initials, to which attention has been drawn, formed his chief material for decoration. But all this was now changed. In the closing days of 1573, the great antiquary, bookseller and printer, Reginald Wolfe, of the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard, had died, and six months later his widow followed him, leaving the business in the hands of her executors, to do with as they thought best, provided that in the event of its being sold,

her servant John Sheppard was to have the first refusal. We can only judge what actually took place from the facts before us. John Sheppard's name occurs in the imprints of books down to 1577, and in some he claims to be the printer; but when we find all Reginald Wolfe's devices, and almost every one of his initial letters and ornaments in Bynneman's possession before the end of 1574, we feel sure that the stock of printing materials at the Brazen Serpent was disposed of for some reason or another. The business of Jugge and Cawood had also undergone changes, by the death of John Cawood in 1572, and five years later by that of Richard Jugge. The great stock of printing 'stuff' in that office was released, and Bynneman secured a share. The result was an improvement and development of the printer's business. For the first time in his history he began to print books in folio. Four books of that size bear the date 1574, and were therefore printed between July of that year and the 25th March, 157 $\frac{1}{2}$. Two of these were different editions of Calvin's Sermons on Job, translated by Arthur Golding; the others were Walsingham's 'Historia Brevis,' and Whitgift's 'Defence of the Aunswer to the Admonition,' and all of them are excellent examples of Bynneman's printing. The title-pages to the last two are within a woodcut border of conventional design, evidently cut specially for Bynneman, having a figure of a Mermaid embodied in it. This border was modelled on that used by Reginald Wolfe when he printed the 'Historia Major' of Matthew Paris in 1571.

These folios were followed in 1575 by an edition of the Bible. No printer's name appears in this, it being a venture shared by several booksellers and printers, some copies being found with William Norton's name, others with that of Lucas Harrison, and it is preceded by the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, which has Richard Jugge's imprint. The editors of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Catalogue, while recognising that the whole impression is alike, ascribe it to the press of Richard Jugge. But there can be no doubt that this Bible was printed by Bynneman. Not only are all the title-pages in what I may call the Mermaid border, but many of the pictorial initials, tail-pieces, etc., can be recognized as having appeared in the smaller of Bynneman's two editions of Calvin's Sermons printed in the preceding year, and were evidently part of the stock that formerly belonged to Reginald Wolfe. A new fount of black letter, of a larger and thinner face and more clumsy casting than any which Bynneman had previously used, makes its first appearance in this Bible.

Archbishop Parker did not live to see the publication of this first small folio edition of the Bishop's Bible, in the revision of which he took so large a part, as he died on the 17th May, 1575. Bynneman and his brother printers must have grieved for many a long day over the loss of such a patron; but Bynneman appears to have soon found another in the person of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Vice-Chancellor and favourite of Elizabeth, whose 'servant' he styles himself in some of his later imprints.

Bynneman at this time reached the high watermark of excellence in his book production. His editions of the classics, of which he printed large numbers, were issued in a handy form, and in clear readable type, generally italic, and he had also a miniature Greek fount, very clearly and regularly cast, used in his edition of the 'Dialectics of La Ramée,' published in 1583.

His title-pages were quite the most artistic of any that issued from the London press at that time. As a rule, he continued the custom of placing his titles within a border of printer's ornaments, but in addition to this, he rarely let a book go out without some additional ornament upon it, sometimes a cut of the Royal Arms, sometimes Wolfe's small 'charity' device, or the lesser of the 'Serpent' devices, but more often the crest and motto either of his patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, or some other nobleman. He still continued to use the Mermaid device, but rarely, often substituting for it one or other of the Serpent marks. Nor were these the only form of book decoration he adopted, many of his books bearing the coats of arms of those to whom they were dedicated, or of one or other of the great court favourites, and heralds and genealogists might do worse than consult them for information. On one occasion we find him using the large and effective initial C, showing Elizabeth on her throne, which had been used by John Day in printing Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.'

New types also make their appearance in his books at this time, and the frequent repetition of the large wood-cut initials which marked his earlier

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work gives place to a great variety of pictorial initials which, if smaller in size, are much more attractive.

Bynneman's greatest work during the last years of his life was the printing of Holinshead's 'Chronicles' in 1577. This work was Reginald Wolfe's bequest to the nation. With infinite toil and patience he had collected during his life the materials, and at his death he left instructions that Raphaell Holinshead should arrange and publish them. The complete work makes two bulky folio volumes, which with indexes and preliminary matter fill nearly two thousand pages. No printer's name appears anywhere about them, but the types and ornaments are enough to identify Bynneman, and all the title-pages have the 'Mermaid' border. The work is also profusely illustrated, and the introduction of so many wood blocks must not only have added largely to the labour of printing the work, but must also have greatly added to the cost. The editors admitted that this last consideration had greatly hampered their work, and this may account for the sale of Reginald Wolfe's printing materials to Bynneman, who may have made a bargain with the executors as to printing the work, at the time of Wolfe's death.

The chief events in the short remaining period of the printer's life need not occupy much space. About the year 1579 he moved into Thames Street, near Baynard's Castle. In the same year he was granted a patent for printing certain books. The grant, which is enrolled on the patent rolls, is curiously worded, beginning with a long rambling

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statement about a previous grant made to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, to print an edition of Elyot's Dictionary, and going on to say that in order that the work may be well and truly printed, and 'having credible information of the dexteritie and skill of our loving subject Henry Bynneman,' proceeds to grant him a license for the sole printing of that book, and a 'chronicle' set forth by the same author, besides all other dictionaries and chronicles that might be published within the next twenty-one years.

In 1580 Bynneman was in serious trouble, and suffered imprisonment for printing a libellous letter sent from one member of Parliament to another. The story is told at some length in Thurloe's State Papers.

This was the only time he offended the authorities. On the other hand, we find him serving as 'constable' to the parish of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, and collecting various sums of money for the poor, and we should be inclined to sum up his character as that of a loyal and God-fearing man.

In May, 1583, he was returned as possessing three presses, this number being only exceeded by Christopher Barker, who had five, and by John Day and Henry Denham, each of whom had four, and there were only five other men who had an equal number, Richard Tottell, Henry Marshe, Henry Middleton, Thomas Dawson, and John Wolfe.

Bynneman died before the end of the year 1583, as on the 8th January, 158 $\frac{3}{4}$, Ralph Newberry and Henry Denham delivered up to the Company

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certain copies that had belonged 'to Henry Bynneman deceased.' He left a widow and several children, one of whom, Christopher Bynneman, was in 1600 apprenticed for seven years to Thomas Dawson, but nothing more is heard of him. The business passed into other hands, and the Mermaid device is found years afterwards in the hands of Humphrey Lownes, while the Mermaid border, minus the Mermaid, is found used in books printed for the Company of Stationers during the first half of the seventeenth century.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

SOUVENIRS DE JEUNESSE.

From the French of M. Léopold Delisle.

(Concluded.)



SHORT time after I took up my duties Guérard opened for me a little select case where were collected some precious manuscripts not issued to students without a special authorisation from the Keeper, and which had not all been entered in the catalogue. I was to enter them briefly in the inventory of the Latin Supplement where they naturally belonged. My attention was specially drawn to one of these manuscripts. 'There,' said Guérard, 'is one of our most valuable manuscripts, the copy of Nithardus, which contains the Strasburg Oaths, the oldest French text which has come down to us.' It is a volume, from the Library of the Vatican, which was handed over to us in 1797 by the treaty of Tolentino. In 1815 the Papal Commission claimed its restitution, but it had disappeared from the Library, probably in consequence of its having been sent to a draughtsman for the facsimile of the text of the famous Oaths that was then being made. The volume reappeared again some time after, but nothing was said about it in order not to provoke a claim from the Vatican.

Things were at this point, when Pertz, who had come to Paris to prepare, amongst other works destined to form part of the '*Monumenta Germaniæ historica*,' a new edition of the History of Nithardus, asked to collate the manuscript of this author which we had received from the Vatican. Orders were given to say that the manuscript must have been given back to the Papal Commissioner in 1815. Pertz renewed the attack after having made a fruitless application at the Vatican. 'But,' said Guérard, 'I had taken my precautions. I had collated the manuscript most carefully with the edition of Dom Bouquet, and when Pertz reappeared I told him, that whilst looking through some papers belonging to one of the Keepers at the time when the Vatican manuscripts were at Paris, I had found a collation of Nithardus which seemed to have been made with the most scrupulous attention to detail, and that in default of the original I could place this collation at his disposal. Pertz accepted with gratitude.' In finishing his recital Guérard told me to look at the '*Monumenta*' and see how the incident had been reported. It is worth while reproducing the exact text of the learned German:

Codex seculo xvii bibliothecæ palatinæ Vaticanæ sub numero 1964 inlatus, bello ultimo Parisius rediit, ibique a cl. Roquefort evolutus et ab alio viro docto, cujus nomen ignoro, rei tamen diplomaticæ peritissimo, cum editione bouquetiana diligentissime collatus est. Mox Italiæ redditus, Romæ latet, nec vel maxima cura nostra adhibita iterum emersit. Sed quo plurimum gratulandum nobis censemus, collationem istam, in qua nihi

desiderari posse videtur, flagitantibus nobis summa cum benivolentia transmisit V. cl. Guerard Bibliothecæ regiæ Parisiensi adscriptus, quem futurum gloriæ suæ diplomaticæ vindicem Gallia jam jamque sperat et expectat.¹

I have read and re-read these lines more than once in the fine copy of the 'Monumenta' which became mine after having belonged first to Guérard and then to Natalis de Wailly. It is the very copy which Pertz gave to his friend, and in which he inserted his own portrait. It is the most valuable book in the collection which my wife and I have thought it right to make over to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

But the story I have just told is not the most dramatic part of the history of the manuscript of Nithardus. Guérard never knew what really took place in 1815 at the time of the claim made by the Papal Commissioners; he had not been told the details by the authorities of the Library who took part in the negotiations. It was only in 1884, by the posthumous publication of a report by Marini, the chief Papal Commissioner, that the secrets of this affair were revealed in all their detail.

It had been necessary in 1815 to submit to the wholesale restitution of the manuscripts surrendered to France in virtue of the treaty of Tolentino, although there had been no stipulation on the subject in the treaties concluded with the Allies in 1815. Some few exceptions, however, had been allowed in order to lessen the rigour of the restitutions, and the affair seemed almost settled, except

¹ 'Scriptores,' II., 650.

with regard to two manuscripts about which Dacier tried to soften the hearts of the papal representatives. These were the manuscript of Nithardus and an ancient copy of Virgil, decorated with paintings, which had come from the Abbey of S. Denis. Marini was implored to refer the matter again to the Pope. The reply was not at all of a kind to please us; in spite of the regard which Pius VII. was said to have for M. Dacier, Marini did not think himself authorized to give up either the Nithardus or the Virgil. In the end, however, he accepted in exchange for Nithardus a Greek manuscript, in the belief, as he boasted later on, that he had made a very good bargain for the Vatican. But he was adamant with regard to the Virgil. He even pretended that he was compromised by leaving the Nithardus at Paris. As a matter of fact his Holiness, 'in order not to hurt M. Dacier's feelings,' had authorized his agent to give up both the manuscripts. This happened in 1815, and less than twelve years later the story of the temporary disappearance of the Nithardus had been pieced together with enough consistency to be accepted by Guérard and embodied by Pertz in a volume printed in 1829! It still figures in some excellent and learned works of a date subsequent to the publication of the report of Marini's mission.

But I have been too prolix over a matter of secondary importance, and I must excuse myself for having been carried away by the wish to record the very flattering testimony which the illustrious Pertz published in 1829 with regard to the promis-

ing young assistant at the Bibliothèque. The perusal of the little book recommended to me by Guérard, and especially also the study of a résumé of the researches of Boivin, published by the abbé Jourdain in 1739, at the beginning of the first volume of the Catalogue of printed books of the Royal Library, had made me fairly well acquainted with the main points of the history of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but I had still made little progress with the work of clearing and verification with which I had been charged, a work which often brought me pleasant surprises, as, for instance, the discovery of the letter of a burgess of La Rochelle to Queen Blanche, which I was allowed to submit to the Académie during the summer of 1856. This was the first time that I had had the honour of speaking before this friendly audience. Guérard was no longer there to hear me. A premature death had carried him off on 10th March, 1854, barely two years after he became Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts.

The loss of such a chief and, I may say, of such a friend, was a great sorrow, a sorrow somewhat softened to me by the appointment of his successor, Natalis de Wailly, in whom I was to find the same qualities—the same learning, the same wisdom, the same affection. An intimate friend of Guérard he was thoroughly acquainted with his views, and had often discussed them with him; for more than fourteen years he worked hard to carry them out, and the principles which these two illustrious masters introduced into the Department of Manuscripts are still in force there, while the same

principles have inspired many of the reforms which have since been carefully and gradually introduced in the other departments.

A short time after his appointment to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Natalis de Wailly arranged with his colleague, confrère and friend, Charles Le Normant, to introduce me to Mme. Eugène Bournouf, assuring her that I should make as good a husband as a librarian. This lady, both courageous and distinguished, so worthy of the name of the great orientalist which she bore, graciously suffered herself to be convinced, and lost no time in causing me to be received by her eldest daughter, Laure Bournouf. This was the beginning of a happiness which lasted for me forty-seven years.

The companion who gave herself to me with such good grace had been brought up in the studies of her grandfather and father. The grandfather prided himself on having produced a pupil who, after but a few years, duly wrote the same Latin proses as the members of the class of 'Rhetoric' of the Lycée de Charlemagne, and who admired her father's genius, not merely upon trust, but with some insight into the difficulties of the task which he had set himself, and of the importance of the results which were to be reached in the course of a career cut short so prematurely. The dream of her girlhood would naturally have been to marry an orientalist, but she was good enough to find in me two merits: I was born close to the original home of the Bournouf family, and I came from the Ecole des Chartes, of which Eugène Bournouf was one of the first and most brilliant scholars.

My wife had thus a double reason for her attachment to the *Ecole des Chartes* and for interesting herself in the work done there. She never disguised her affection for the school any more than she hid the pleasure she took in the illuminations of mediæval manuscripts. She was the better able to appreciate these from the fact that she had herself practised the art of a miniaturist with some success. It is not to be wondered at that she allowed herself to be attracted by paleography. In a short time she acquired in a study quite new to her sufficient skill to decipher readily and very correctly mediæval handwritings, and even to assign dates to them. It was a real delight to her to copy charters, despite the occasional shocks she received from a style of Latin a little different from that taught her by her grandfather. How many pieces has she transcribed for me with the utmost accuracy, in that beautiful hand which recalled the fine copies made by her father and given by her to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*! What manuscripts we have collated together! She shared all my tastes, took part in all my work, and would not remain unfamiliar with any question which I was led to investigate. Her modesty was so great that she never wished anyone even to suspect the share in my published works which really belonged to her. What papers she read and analysed, pen in hand; what books she searched through; what translations she made for me; what letters she wrote; what errors—and not errors of the press only—did she not save me from making by going over my proofs, which she never liked to be sent to

press until she had re-read them ! How delighted I was at the wicked pleasure she took in pointing out the misprints I had allowed to pass when they were staring me in the face.

As time went by and our hopes of founding a family disappeared, her devotion to work increased ; and when towards the end of her life illness kept her confined to the house, it became even greater still.

My marriage was closely followed by my election to the Academy, and the memory of my father-in-law played not a small part in my success. It must be said, too, that the road leading to the Academy was not then as beset with difficulties as it is now, and if I reached the goal so quickly, I owed it to the really excessive praise which my patrons, Guérard, Le Prévost, de Wailly and Wallon, were good enough to bestow on my first efforts. They promised in my name important works on the history of Normandy and the reign of Philippe Auguste, but they had over-estimated my powers and had not foreseen the change of direction which my entrance into the Bibliothèque Nationale was bound to give to my studies. Resolved to devote my life to the Library, I was bound to give myself up to bibliographical and paleographical work. Above all I had to busy myself with our dear manuscripts. I loved them passionately, and my passion was shared by my wife. What pleasure those manuscripts gave us ! What delightful evenings we spent in our own home in talking over various specimens of which I had seen the importance when accident brought them to my notice ! What memories abide with me of those days !

I still laugh at the enthusiasm with which I came home one day in the summer of 1867 and told my wife that a notary had let me handle—under his inspection, and then only for a short half hour—a splendid psalter, which I had recognized as having been made for Queen Ingeborg of Denmark, a fact which no one had hitherto suspected. We little thought then that twenty years later this psalter would be acquired by Son Altesse Royal, le duc d'Aumale, and that we should both have the opportunity of examining it at our leisure in the Library of Chantilly.

How lucky we were also that same year, when at the exhibition in the Champs-de-Mars we studied with admiration a manuscript sent from Soissons, and I discovered in it undoubted evidences of royal origin! It was, in fact, one of the most precious books of the fourteenth century, which King John had lost with his baggage at Poitiers. Charles V. bought it back from the English as a gift for his brother the duc de Berri, the greatest bibliophile of the Middle Ages. I do not know, alas! what destiny is reserved for this chef-d'œuvre both of writing and illumination of which we were the custodians in the Salon of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1904, after the exhibition of original manuscripts of Early French Art (*Exposition des Primitifs*) was closed. It was at this time that I prepared a detailed description of it for inclusion in my '*Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V.*'

A little later, in 1878, I found myself once more in the library at Lyons, sitting by the side of my wife, whom I startled by jumping up suddenly;

the sight of a manuscript, devoid of binding, and all tattered and torn, had recalled to my memory a vision of the quires of the Pentateuch, in three columns, and in uncial letters, which the old Earl of Ashburnham had published with a facsimile in 1868. I found myself unexpectedly face to face with one half of an apparition well known to me, although I had never seen the other half. The apparition seemed to be an answer to the invocation of the lamented Gaston Paris, who, in the 'Revue Critique,' in 1868, after remarking on the importance of the fragments recently published, deplored the loss of the rest of the manuscript, and ended with some almost prophetic words: 'Happy,' said he, 'will be the student who puts his hand on this treasure, hidden perhaps in the depths of some provincial library!'

What a joy it was to me a little later to replace in their rightful position these quires which had been stranded in England for more than thirty years.

I have not forgotten either the anxious times we had during the campaigns which I had the honour to direct for making good the losses which our collections had suffered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But what happiness followed on these anxieties when, thanks to the kindness of our friends at the British Museum, Mr. Bond and Sir Edward Thompson, we saw restored to France the leaves torn in the reign of Louis XIV. from the Bible belonging to Charles Le Chauve, and the 166 valuable manuscripts stolen from our libraries to adorn the collections of Libri and Barrois. The

former came back to us in 1876 and the latter in 1887. I have had the pleasure of recording this last success in a book on the history of the Bibliothèque Nationale dedicated to the Académie des Inscriptions.

These successes have been in great measure due to the help given me by this same institution. It was the support which it lent to my demonstration, on 23rd February, 1883, of the fraudulent origin of many of the precious manuscripts conveyed to Lord Ashburnham by Libri and Barrois in 1847 and 1849, that won the adhesion of the Trustees of the British Museum, and of the representative of the Italian Government, Professor Villari. The Académie extended to the Bibliothèque Nationale the same kind of patronage as that exercised by Louis XVII. when, in 1785, he ordered it to draw up an account of the principal manuscripts. That the Library has never ceased to fulfil this command is amply proved by the thirty-nine volumes published between 1787 and the present time, under the title of '*Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques.*'

Faithful to the advice of Guérard, of which I have spoken above, I have always been keenly alive to the origins of our manuscripts and the vicissitudes through which they have passed. Shortly before 1868 I decided that I had collected enough material to begin the publication of a work which should contain the history of our Department of Manuscripts. This somewhat bold undertaking was finished in 1881. At the present time the

work should really be recast on a much larger basis, and furnished throughout with illustrative extracts. But for myself, I have long known that I must give up a task beyond my strength. Since, however, saying good-bye to the Bibliothèque, I have begun to put in order my notes on what may be called the 'Infancy' of the institution. They treat of the books collected by Charles V. and dispersed after the death of Charles VI. These notes form but a very small part of the first volume published in 1868, under the title of 'Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale.' The questions I had to examine have necessarily taken a much larger form owing to the new researches made during nearly forty years. In 1868 I only knew of about thirty manuscripts which had formed part of a collection of nearly 1,200 volumes, brought together in the time of Charles V. and Charles VI. in the tower of the Louvre and in the various royal residences. To-day I can point to a hundred. Let us hope that the documents published in the second part of my 'Recherches' will result in a still further increase in their number.

NOTES ON STATIONERS FROM THE LAY SUBSIDY ROLLS OF 1523-4.

RESERVED in the Public Record Office in London is a long series of documents throwing a good deal of light on the careers of our early printers, but which no historian of printing, so far as I am aware, has yet made use of: I refer to the 'Accounts of the Lay Subsidies.'

Whilst working on my 'Century of the English Book-trade,' I had frequent occasion to consult the valuable 'Returns of Aliens' published by the Huguenot Society. These have been extracted from the 'Lay Subsidies,' and it seemed probable that the same source would supply considerable information about the native printers.

On the occasion of my next visit to London, I took the opportunity of examining some of these documents, and the results were even more valuable than I anticipated.

The earliest series relates to the subsidy of 1523 levied by Henry VIII. and Wolsey to raise £800,000. Unfortunately, the documents relating to the London assessment seem to have been only partly preserved, but what remain are full of interest. They have, too, a very great advantage over the later returns, for in almost every case the occupation of each person is mentioned. The names are arranged by

wards and parishes, and their order probably represents a house-to-house visitation.

Taking the people in whom we are interested as they come, the first is Walter Smyth, Stacyoner, in the parish of St. Benett Fynke, Bradstrete Ward, who is valued at £40. This stationer, hitherto unknown, may perhaps have a certain claim to distinction. Several small works, in prose and poetry, composed by early stationers and printers, have come down to us, such as Copland's 'Hye Way to the Spyttel House' or 'Jyl of Breyntford's Testament,' and so perhaps this stationer may be the Walter Smyth who wrote the 'Twelve Merry Jests of the Widow Edith.' The book was printed by Rastell, Sir Thomas More's brother-in-law, and some of the jests were played on members of More's household. It is quite likely that Rastell's fellow stationer may have heard the stories from him, and written the little book. The next entry is Richard Banks, bokebynder, of St. Mildred's parish, Chepe Ward, valued at £5. In this very year [1523] he issued his first book, 'The IX Drunkardes,' from 'the long shop in the poultry next St. Mildred's Church,' but the entry in the roll seems to show that he commenced in business as a bookbinder.

In the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, Farringdon Within, we find another hitherto unknown stationer, Thomas Snape, valued at £20. A later roll of 1544 enters him in 'Rose Alley' with goods worth £40, and in the same year he is mentioned as guardian to the orphan of John Welles, tailor. The parish of St. Faith, comprising the area round

St. Paul's Cathedral, does not supply as many names as might be expected. First comes Thomas Kele, stationer, valued at £5. All hitherto known of him was that about 1526 he occupied for a short time part of a shop named the 'Mermaid,' as under-tenant to John Rastell [*'Bibliographica'* II. 439]. Next comes Henry Pepwell, a well-known printer and stationer, valued at £40, and he is followed by Simon Coston, 'Proctor of the arches,' worth £13 6s. 8d., a most legal valuation. Coston, like several other Proctors of the Arches, was a member of the Stationers' Company, and was sixth on the charter-list. Thomas Docwra, 'marbiller,' valued at £50, comes next. He is presumably the Thomas Dockwray, afterwards the first Master of the new Stationers' Company, who died in 1559.

Henry Dabbe, stationer, who follows, is valued at £6 13s. 4d. He was a well-known printer and stationer, who died in 1548. He is followed by John Reynes, an equally well-known stationer, valued at £40 3s. 4d.

The next entry is very interesting, 'Julyan Notary, boke seller, £36. 6. 8.' Hitherto the last date connected with Notary was 1520, when he issued his 'Life of St. Erasmus,' but this reference takes him on three years. By some unfortunate chance his tax is not mentioned, since, had it been, it would have settled the doubtful point whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner, the foreigner paying a double tax.

George Pilgryme, stationer, valued at £13 6s. 8d., who follows, is another stationer hitherto unknown. A Joyce Pelgrim had been a stationer in St. Paul's

Churchyard at an earlier period; and in the country subsidies for 1523 we find a Gerard Pilgrim, stationer in Oxford, and a Nicholas Pilgrim, stationer in Cambridge.

Henry Harman, the last stationer mentioned in St. Faith's parish, we find mentioned again in the assessment of 1541, in which year he was still in business in St. Paul's Churchyard, acting as factor for that ubiquitous stationer and printer, Arnold Birckman, of Cologne.

The parish of St. Michael's in the Querne supplies one stationer, John Rastell, whose goods amounted only to the value of £6 13s. 4d. This entry is of value, as considerable doubt exists as to the various places where Rastell lived and the dates of his removals.

Coming next to the ward of Farringdon Without, another new stationer is found, William Casse, valued at £5, belonging to the parish of St. Martin's without Ludgate; and in St. Bride's parish is John Gowgh, bokeseller, valued at the same amount. When, in 1528, he was examined on suspicion of dealing in heretical books, he stated that he had only been in business for two years, and before that was servant to another. The present entry seems to show that Gowgh's evidence was not strictly reliable.

On a second sheet of vellum we find four additional entries of the highest importance. In the parish of St. Faith occurs John Taverner, stationer, valued at £307. The only reference to him which I had found previously was in 1521, in the 'Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.' [Vol. III. p. 1545].

'To John Taverner, stationer of London, by the serjeant of the vestry for binding, claspings and covering 41 books for the King's chapel, 4*l*.' His great wealth, far beyond that of any other stationer of the time, points to a very important position, and he may have been stationer and bookbinder to the King. He appears to have died in 1531.

The two next entries are 'Wynken de worde, enprenter,' in St. Bride's parish, and 'Richard Pynson enprenter,' in St. Dunstan's in the West; the former valued at *£*201 11*s*. 1*d*. and the latter at *£*60.

These two sums are in curious contrast, and appear to emphasize the relative value of the popular and learned book-trade of that period. Pynson, even with the power of the court at his back and his official position as King's Printer, cannot compete with his rival who has more accurately gauged the popular taste.

The fourth on this sheet is a stationer from the parish of St. Dunstan's in the East, Tower Ward, Richard Neale, who, an almost unknown man, is valued at *£*100, *£*40 more than Pynson. Neale was made free of the Stationers' Company on 3rd August, 1510, but becoming for some reason dissatisfied, was transferred to the Company of Ironmongers in 1525. Another sheet of vellum, still referring to the levy of the 1523 subsidy, is dated 10th December, XVI. Henry VIII. [1524], and this contains some additional names. In the parish of St. Clement Danes we find Robert Redman with goods valued at *£*10, and Sampson Awdeley, the father of John Awdley or Sampson the printer,

assessed on £2. The elder Awdley was verger in Westminster Abbey, and died in 1560. There is also a John Burtoft valued at £2, who is probably the stationer of that name who was an original member of that Company, and is last mentioned in 1561.

The last entry, occurring in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, is a very remarkable one. 'Pro Roberto Wyre prynter pro iiii £ in bonis, iis.' In spite of the considerable attention paid of late years to the work of Wyer, no trace of his existence as stationer or printer had been found previous to 1530; yet here he is definitely given as a printer six years earlier. A good deal of information relating to himself and his family has lately been made available by the publication of the 'Accounts of the churchwardens of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1525-1603,' edited by J. V. Kitto, 1901.

Now the information which I have set down as derived from this subsidy account, though it may not appear very considerable in quantity is very noteworthy in quality. In the first place, we learn of the existence of four hitherto unknown stationers, and new discoveries of this kind are few and far between. The valuations bring into prominence another stationer, hitherto but a name, John Taverner, whom we thus learn to have been one of the most important, certainly the richest member of the trade of the period. They throw also a curious light on the relative positions of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. Pynson, with a University education, his position as King's printer,

his title of Esquire and right to bear arms, has little more than a quarter of the possessions of Wynkyn de Worde, who prints for the people. The poverty which overtook Rastell in his old age would seem to be commencing, for his goods are only valued at between six and seven pounds, due perhaps to his fondness for stage plays and his frequent journeys into the country, and consequent neglect of business.

We are also able to supply new dates in the career of fairly well-known men. Redman is settled in St. Clement's parish in 1524, a year before his first book was issued, for the 1523 book, often quoted by bibliographers as his first, is misdated. To Julyan Notary's existence we can add three years, and fix Robert Wyer definitely as a printer at Charing Cross no less than seven years earlier than the issue of his first dated book.

There is one point especially in these entries which, much as we would value an explanation, can never be explained. What meanings did the assessors attach to the words Stationer, Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder? Pynson and W. de Worde we should naturally class as printers, but why should Notary be called a bookseller and Pepwell a stationer, when both also were printers? It cannot refer to the Company, and any distinction between Notary and Pepwell would be hard to define. It may, of course, be their own definition of themselves. The entries would appear to have been taken down by word of mouth from door to door, and though the names in the present subsidy rolls are fairly accurate, in the later ones they run

through every variety of spelling. Here are the consecutive entries of one man: Bringmarshen, Vrymors, Frinnorren, Fremorshem, Formishaa, Frymorsham, Fremersson!

The subsidy rolls of 1537 are few in number, and those of St. Bride's, St. Dunstan's, St. Sepulchre's, and St. Andrew's parishes only are preserved. In them the inhabitants are arranged in order of wealth.

When we come to the very full records of 1543-4, the entries are apparently made according to the order in which the persons lived in the street. From them we can draw out an accurate directory of St. Paul's Churchyard, which can be confirmed occasionally from other sources. In the 1544 roll Thomas Petyt is entered next to Robert Toye, and Robert Toye in his will bequeathed to his wife his 'shoppe withe the signe of the bell nexte adjoininge to Master Petitt's house.'

I think that the results I have set down from the examination of one, manifestly very incomplete, subsidy return will be sufficient to draw attention to their very great value for the personal history of printers. They give absolutely definite information where a printer was located at a particular date, a point often of great importance in settling the order of particular groups of his books.

Though the records of the 1523 subsidy are very incomplete as regards London, and what are preserved seem more like a first draft, the accounts of the succeeding subsidies are very much fuller. They have, however, one great drawback, the occupations of the various persons are not stated, so that

information can only be found about stationers whom we know from other sources to have been stationers. There is nothing to help us to identify unknown stationers.

One series of entries, however, occasionally furnish clues. After all the dwellers in the various wards have been entered there follows a list of all the guardians of orphan children, and here the trades are mentioned, the entries running in the following form: 'William Bonham, stationer, guardian for the orphan of William Robinson; Thomas Snape, stationer, guardian for one orphan of John Welles, tailor.'

It seems very strange, considering the amount of historical and genealogical information contained in these documents that they have never been printed. To copy out and print the rolls of the subsidies relating to London levied in the sixteenth century would not be too heavy a task for an enterprising society.

One word of warning and advice I would offer out of my own slight experience. The work of examining these subsidy rolls is a severe mental and physical task. No one who has not experienced it can imagine the trouble of consulting a collection of twenty or more large sheets of parchment, all stitched together at the top after the manner of the patterns of cloth exhibited by the tailor or wall-papers by the decorator, and which, in addition to this, have been rolled up in a tight bundle for hundreds of years and have acquired a facility for curling up which requires considerable force to frustrate.

The assessments were in most cases made by a house-to-house visitation by parishes and wards, and since it is not possible to retain in one's memory the names of the five or six hundred stationers who may be met with, and as in the later subsidy rolls the occupations are never entered, it is as well to have a handy list to refer to, of all known stationers arranged by their addresses, under their parish and ward. Such a list I have made out for my own use in case I should be able to examine these records more fully, but I should be happy to lend it to any one interested in the subject who has the opportunity, which I am sorry to say occurs to me but rarely, of working in the Record Office.

E. GORDON DUFF.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE aim of present-day teachers of foreign tongues is to be severely practical: the pupil must learn to speak before he can read, and must be speedily supplied with a vocabulary of the necessities of every-day life. Translation from classical French or German or Italian authors is tabooed: if a book is read, it must be one written with a practical purpose, describing a day in Paris or a journey up the Rhine. This is praiseworthy, and doubtless useful. But, as a fact, it is given to few of us to speak a foreign language really well without being constantly in the society of persons who can neither speak nor understand ours, and I sometimes wonder if for the small practical gain it is worth while to sacrifice the poetry and charm that hung about the old-fashioned procedure. My French teacher, after a very few lessons, put Racine's 'Athalie' into my hands and set me to learn from it long passages by heart. We also translated it in class, and I can still remember the delight I took in it. It was my first introduction to French poetry, and imbued me with a love of it that still endures.

When I opened Jules Lemaître's new book on 'Jean Racine,' I turned instinctively to the pages on 'Athalie,' and at once found again the impression of my early years. I thought it then a wonderful

thing, and M. Lemaître, with all his matured wisdom and knowledge and trained critical insight, only endorses the feeling it awoke in an uncritical girl of fourteen: 'Athalie rejoint les plus grandes plus œuvres et les religieuses, du théâtre grec . . . Athalie est unique chez nous.'

Although perhaps the 'Racine' is less interesting than the same author's 'Rousseau,' it is an admirable and suggestive piece of criticism, full of thought and feeling, of fresh and original ideas. While demonstrating that the work of Racine combines the two most beautiful traditions of our humanity: the Hellenic and the Christian, and claiming for his plays 'plus d'ordre et de mouvement intérieur, plus de vérité psychologique, et plus de poésie,' than is to be found in the plays of any other dramatist, he considers that Racine's dramas especially express the genius of the French race—'ordre, raison, sentiment mesuré et force sous la grâce.' He continues:

'Les tragédies de Racine supposent une très vieille patrie. Dans cette poésie, à la fois si ordonnée et si émouvante, c'est nous-mêmes que nous aimons; c'est—comme chez La Fontaine et Molière, mais dans un exemple plus noble—notre sensibilité et notre esprit à leur moment le plus heureux.'

In criticising 'Phèdre,' perhaps Racine's masterpiece, Lemaître demonstrates what constitutes the interest of the great French classical tragedies:

'Comme le fond en est, si je puis dire, de beaucoup, antérieur à la forme, elles embrassent d'immenses parties de l'histoire des hommes et présentent simultanément, à

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des plans divers, l'image de plusieurs civilisations. Phèdre a peut-être quatre mille ans par le Minotaure et les exploits de Thésée; elle a vingt-quatre siècles par Euripide; elle en a dix-huit par Sénèque; elle en a deux par Racine, et enfin elle est d'hier par tout ce qu'elle nous suggère et que nous y mettons. Elle est de toutes les époques à la fois; elle est éternelle, entendez contemporaine de notre race à toutes les périodes de son développement. Et voyez quelle grandeur et quelle profondeur donne à l'œuvre la mythologie primitive dont elle est toute pénétrée. Quand Phèdre nomme son aïeul le Soleil, quand Aricie nomme son aïeule la terre, nous nous rappelons soudain nos lointaines origines, et que la terre et le Soleil sont en effet nos aïeux, que nous tenons à Cybèle par le fond mystérieux de notre être, et que nos passions ne sont en somme que la transformation dernière de forces naturelles et fatales et comme leur affleurement d'une minute à la surface de ce monde de phénomènes.'

Many French critics are inclined to ascribe to Racine the empire 'de la femme dans la littérature,' and in an eloquent passage M. Lemaître agrees with them:

'Quand nous pensons à ce théâtre, ce qui en effet nous apparaît tout de suite, ce sont ses femmes: les disciplinées, les pudiques, qui n'en sentent pas moins profondément pour cela: Andromaque, Junie, Bérénice, Atalide, Monime, Iphigénie,—et les effrénées surtout; les effrénées d'ambition: Agrippine, Athalie; et plus encore les effrénées d'amour: Hermione, Roxane, Eriphile, Phèdre; celles que l'amour pousse irrésistiblement au meurtre et au suicide, à travers un flux et un reflux de pensées contraires, par des alternatives d'espoir, de crainte, de colère, de jalousie, parmi des raffinements douloureux de sensibilité, des ironies, des clairvoyances soudaines, puis des abandons désespérés à la passion fatale, une incapacité

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pour leur "triste cœur" de "recueillir le fruit" des crimes dont elles sentent la honte,—tout cela exprimé dans une langue qui est comme créatrice de clarté, par où, démentes lucides, elles continuent de s'analyser au plus fort de leurs agitations, et qui revêt d'harmonieuse beauté leurs désordres les plus furieux: au point qu'on ne sait si on a peur de ces femmes ou si on les adore!

Racine's dramas are everywhere pervaded with true humanity, and it should be noted that his representation of the passion of love is more truthful than that of any modern dramatist. He never directly describes its sensual side; he paints rather its—

'Faculté d'illusion, son aveuglement, sa cruauté; ses souffrances, ses fureurs, son mécanisme psychologique. . . . Les variétés essentielles de l'amour, depuis le plus pur, le plus sain, jusqu'au plus criminel et au plus morbide, sont dans les tragédies de Racine, peintes, on peut le croire, une fois pour toutes.'

Adapting sentiment and phraseology from Gérard de Nerval's criticism of the old songs of Le Valois, where Racine was born, his latest critic declares in conclusion that his tragedies—

'Dansent en rond sur la pelouse et dans le jardin du roi, en chantant des airs que viennent de très loin dans le temps et dans l'espace, mais d'un *français si naturellement pur* que c'est en les écoutant qu'on se sent le mieux vivre en France, et avec le plus de fierté intime et d'attendrissement.'

The second volume of Anatole France's 'Jeanne d'Arc' is perhaps scarcely as interesting as the first, but it contains some very curious chapters dealing

with the 'Saintes femmes,' who followed the army and made 'un beguinage volant.' All these women had marvellous visions, and Jeanne even feared a rival, for any of them might easily have been turned to similar uses to those which she served :

'Une inspirée, alors, était bonne à tout, à l'édification du peuple, à la réforme de l'Eglise, à la conduite des gens d'armes, à la circulation des monnaies, à la guerre, à la paix; dès qu'il en paraissait une, chacun la tirait à soi.'

One of them, named Catherine de la Rochelle, had special revelations in the matter of finance; indeed, she had 'une mission trésorière,' as Jeanne had 'une mission guerrière.' It seemed that one use a saint had in the army was as 'quêteuse,' and judging by what is known of Catherine, 'les inspirations de cette sainte dame n'étaient ni très hautes ni très ordonnées, ni très profondes.'

There are many notable passages in the book; for example, an extraordinarily vivid description of fifteenth century Paris in few words in Chapter III., and another on Jeanne and her relations with the University of Paris. Notwithstanding the fulness of detail, the careful research, and the historical sense of the author, there will, it would seem, always be much that is vague and legendary surrounding the life of Joan of Arc.

A very valuable piece of critical work will be found in Pierre Villey's 'Les sources et l'évolution des essais de Montaigne.' The first volume deals with the sources and chronology of the essays, the second with their evolution. The rôle of Montaigne in the movement of moral ideas in the

sixteenth century forms the subject of a well-written introduction. The author declares that in treating of the evolution of the essays, he is not aiming at literary criticism but at history, and simply to understand, and to help others to understand the formation of Montaigne's work. He divides it into three stages: the impersonal essays, the conquest of personality, the personal essays. The chief qualities that made Montaigne's influence so great are, 'son sentiment de la vie, son bon sens, sa sagesse, ses manières polies.' Although his 'méthode' greatly struck his contemporaries and prepared the way for that of Bacon, and in a certain sense, perhaps, for that of Descartes, Villey says, and I think, rightly, that at the present time it is the artist in Montaigne, and not the thinker that attracts. No student who desires to understand thoroughly the reasons of Montaigne's greatness can afford to neglect Villey's historical study of the first and perhaps the greatest essayist.

Ernest Seillière's 'Le Mal Romantique. Essai sur l'impérialisme irrationnel,' is an original study of the romantic in life and literature, from the time of Rousseau who inaugurated it onwards through the five generations that have descended from him. The book is divided into two parts, 'Le Romantisme des pauvres,' associated with the name of Charles Fourier, and 'Le Romantisme des riches,' associated with that of Stendhal-Beyle. The first depends upon a 'mysticisme *social*,' upon 'la bonté naturelle,' and leads to the reign of anarchy in the sense that the reign of reason renders all coercive authority superfluous. The

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second depends upon a 'mysticisme *aesthétique*,' upon 'la beauté.' The reign of both together makes for perfection. It is an interesting and original presentment of the subject. The second part of the book is well worth reading for its own intrinsic interest, and will be found very suggestive for critics or students of the literary movements of the later and eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century.

A somewhat startling critical theory is put forth by Ugo Gaede in 'Schiller und Nietzsche als Verkünder der tragischen Kultur.' It is difficult to say whether it is worthy of serious consideration. Gaede declares that Schiller and Nietzsche are each representatives of the two types of the subjective age, and that as Schiller's problem begins where that of science ends, he is as modern as if he had only begun to write in the present age. Schiller announced that 'all the gods are dead,' and in his latest critic's idea that was as good as saying, 'therefore, now, long live super-man!' It is a strange age, at least, so it seems to me, that, before admiring the great classical poets, must find excuse for their existence in that they had some of the qualities and ideas of their very inferior successors. But such books have their uses, for they often send us back to the older authors we so wrongly neglect, and force us to acknowledge how great they are and always will be.

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In the realms of fiction there are one or two quite excellent books among those recently published. Henry Bordeaux may always be counted

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on for distinguished work, and in his latest novel, 'Les Yeux qui s'ouvrent,' he has not disappointed us. It is an illuminating study of married life, showing how serious difficulties may arise when a wife neglects to take an interest in her husband's pursuits and aims. A young woman, not unintelligent, attractive, well placed in worldly circumstances, marries a distinguished historian, a man of no family, owing his high position entirely to his own talents. The wife is an excellent housekeeper and mother, performs her social duties with most approved punctilio, takes her husband's affection for granted, and never imagines that it might be her duty to try and give him the companionship of soul he desires. The result is that the husband seeks sympathy elsewhere and finds it. The wife leaves her husband and demands a divorce. The husband's friends try to avert it, and point out to the wife that perhaps she is not altogether blameless in the matter; she surely had some part and responsibility in their mutual happiness, perhaps, as some one says to her, 'votre bonheur demandait-il quelque surveillance.' It is also wisely pointed out that:

'Nous sommes beaucoup plus responsables des petites choses que des grandes où les circonstances ont plus de part, et que c'est à nous jour à jour, à fixer la chaîne, facile à briser, de notre bonheur.'

If only the elements of the art of life could be taught in the schools, all the great human relationships would work more smoothly. Experience does something, of course, but it is always neces-

sarily a lengthy process, and there are many people who go through life without learning anything from it. The way in which the wife's eyes are gradually opened to the meaning of life is very delicately implied, the two main factors being her husband's mother, a charming character, and a diary kept by her husband during their married life that she is persuaded to read by his best friend. The man here perhaps expects too much from the woman he has chosen, but in any relationship between a man and woman it would be well if both remembered that 'le bonheur s'acquiert ou se perd chaque jour et réclame des soins constants, une attention permanente . . . savoir demeurer en état de veille, c'est la moitié de l'art de vivre.'

In another passage a great truth is expressed, though one perhaps that is seldom acknowledged:

'Aimer quand on vous aime, qu'on vous évite tout effort, toute peine, qu'on aplanait votre vie comme une grande route où rien ne heurte la marche, la belle affaire! Par quoi prouve-t-on son amour? Aimer quand on est délaissé, oublié, quand on vous laisse seul, aux prises avec toutes les difficultés, ou même quand on vous marche sur le coeur, cela, oui, c'est aimer.'

It is a fine book, finely conceived and finely written. The situation is one that might quite well occur in real life, and is here treated with a delicacy and refinement as rare as it is delightful.

In 'L'amour qui pleure,' Marcelle Tinayre gives us four stories of unhappy love. Only one of them, 'Robert-Marie,' rises to the level to be expected from the author of 'La Rebelle' and 'La Maison

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du Pêché.' It has literary form, charm, and pathos. 'Le fantôme,' the description of a sort of spiritualistic séance, is surely unworthy of so gifted a writer.

'Lettres à deux femmes,' by J. A. Coulangheon, is a strange book, but full of interest and attraction. Coulangheon was under sentence of death from consumption, and sought distraction by corresponding with two women, one of whom he did not know. His motto was the old nursery song:

'Avant de nous séparer
Il faut rire, il faut rire,
Avant de nous séparer
Il faut rire et s'amuser.'

The older lady was a 'railleuse personne revenue de bien des choses,' the younger 'jeune créature aspirant à la joie de tout entendre.' He seems unconsciously perhaps, and almost against his will, to get more and more interested in the younger lady. His views of things are original, always unorthodox, and with the older lady he frankly discusses subjects that an Englishman would ignore in writing or talking to a woman. Love and friendship, pain and pleasure, life and death, art and nature, literature are among the subjects treated, often with pathetic charm and deep insight. Great truths also are often finely expressed. The book, unfortunately, does not lend itself to quotation; a phrase taken from its context loses its fine flavour. Coulangheon was a friend and disciple of Anatole France, and there are many delightful references to him.

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The history of the development of a town is always fascinating, and Frankfurt-am-Main is in many ways one of the best subjects of the kind. It was the coronation town of the Holy Roman Emperors of Germany; it was Goethe's birth-place; and in surveying the fine modern, wealthy, and prosperous city it is to-day, we are apt to forget its intimate association with the history of the past. Goethe called a town 'a comrade of the great problems of fate,' and although Veit Valentin in his 'Frankfurt-am-Main und die Revolution von 1848-9' only deals actually with a few years in the life of the town, the sketch at the beginning of earlier times and at the end of the later makes it almost a continuous history.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Correspondance. *Les lettres et les arts.* Par Emile Zola.

Forms the second volume of Zola's correspondence, and covers the years 1863-1902; it contains much about Zola's own work and that of his correspondents, who include most of the great French writers of his day.

Fernando de Herrera (*El Divino*), 1534-97. Par Adolphe Coster.

A very full account of the poet, who may perhaps be compared with the French writer Malherbe. Herrera realised the type of the man of letters. Literature was a real profession for him, an unique fact in his time, specially in his native country.

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La Littérature Hongroise d'aujourd'hui. Étude suivie des notices biographiques. Par J. Kont.

One of a series of little books (1/6 each) entitled 'Collection d'études étrangères.' The volume before us makes an excellent supplement to Riedl's admirable 'History of Hungarian Literature.'

Walt Whitman. L'homme et son œuvre. Par Léon Bazalgette.

Considers Whitman the greatest of the four universal geniuses given to the world by America, Poe, Emerson, and Thoreau being the others. The author ventures to think that some would characterise Whitman as 'le poète le plus puissant et le plus neuf du siècle dix-neuvième dans son ensemble.'

Le Siège de Gênes (1800). Par Edouard Gachot.

Contains chapters on 'La Guerre dans l'Apennin.—Journal du Blocus.—Les Opérations de Suchet.'

L'Ancienne Egypte d'après les Papyrus et les Monuments. Par Eugène Revillont. Vol. I.

A very interesting volume treating of 'Le Roman de Chevalerie et les Chansons de geste dans l'ancienne Egypte,' as well as 'Le Roman historique,' 'L'Apologue,' and lastly 'Polychromie dans l'art Egyptien.'

Dictionnaire des Comédiens Français (ceux d'hier) biographie, bibliographie, iconographie. Par Henry Lyonnet. Vol. I., Abadie-Duval.

The first work of the kind. Contains biographies (accompanied by 500 portraits, autographs, views and scenes) of French actors and actresses, from the most famous to the simple 'M'as-tu-vu?'

Bibliographie Française. Vol. I., 1900-4. Deuxième série.

The works are arranged in one alphabet under order of authors, names, titles, subjects (by means of catch-words).

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Le Violon. Par Alberto Bachmann. With preface by Henry Gauthier-Villars.

The book is divided into three parts, 'Lutherie, œuvres, biographies,' and forms a useful guide both for professionals and amateurs. Especially helpful is the list of composers and their works.

Les jours s'allongent. Par Paul Margueritte.

Another instalment of his 'Souvenirs de Jeunesse,' describing his life as a boy of 10-17 at a school for the sons of military officers, a 'prison d'enfants' as he calls it. There is nothing inspiring in the reminiscences.

L'Idéal Moderne. Par Paul Gaultier.

The author deals with 'La question morale; la question sociale; la question religieuse.' His attitude to those matters may be found in the phrase, 'Il est moins celui-là que nous vivons que celui qu'il me semble possible et souhaitable que nous vivions.'

New volumes in the Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine are:—

Esquisse d'une Esthétique musicale scientifique.
Par Charles Lalo.

An argument for the application of a rational method to æsthetic facts.

Sociologie de l'action. La genèse sociale de la raison et les origines rationnelles de l'action. Par Eugène de Roberty.

Concludes the series of his essays on 'La morale considérée comme sociologie élémentaire.'

Études d'histoire des Sciences et d'histoire de la Philosophie. Par A. Hannequin. Prefaced by an article on Hannequin and his work by J. Grosjean.

Contains articles on Spinoza, Leibniz, Descartes, and Hobbes.

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Die Parteien des deutschen Reichstags. Von Chr. Grotewold.

The first volume of a series 'Die Politik des deutschen Reichs in Einzeldarstellungen,' invaluable for those wishing to follow contemporary German politics. Other subjects to be treated are, 'Die Geschichte und Ziele des deutschen Sozialpolitik,' von Martin Wenck; 'Die Gewerbepolitik,' von Bruno Volger; 'Deutschland als Seemacht,' von Vice-Admiral z. D. Valois.

Deutschland und die grosse Politik. Anno 1907. Von Dr. Th. Schiemann.

The former volumes cover the years 1901-6.

Arabia Petraea. Von Alois Musil. Part III. (Issued under the auspices of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Science.)

An ethnological account of a journey in biblical countries, by a great authority on such subjects.

Das Kind in der altfranzösischen Literatur. Von Ferd. Fellingner.

Contains a large amount of curious information probably not to be found elsewhere in any one place.

Beiträge und Studien zur englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte. Von J. Schipper.

A selection of essays, lectures, etc., already published in periodicals. There are articles on the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen; a review of Raleigh's 'Shakespeare,' and a fine appreciation of Burns, who is characterized as one of the greatest lyric poets, perhaps the greatest of modern times. He quotes Goethe's lines:

Es kann die Spur von deinen Erdentagen
Nicht in Aeonen untergeh'n.

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Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters 1817-1907. Festschrift zur Einweihung des neuen Hoftheater-Gebäudes, 11. Januar, 1908. Von Adolf Bartels.

A chronological list of all the plays performed at the Weimar Theatre between those dates. It forms a most interesting and valuable record, and is indeed an important document for the history of the drama in Germany.

Kulturaufgaben der Reformation. Einleitung in einer Lutherbiographie. Von Arnold Berger.

A new, revised, and enlarged edition of the book which was first published in 1894.

ELIZABETH LEE.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TOUR.

THE above heading may seem presumptuous, as there are few traces of bibliography in the following lines. Yet my tour, of which I venture to give some account, was undertaken solely for the examination and collation of the copies, or fragments of copies, still existing of the several editions of the famous 'Speculum humane salvationis,' presumably printed at Haarlem in the fifteenth century.

In May, 1906, the editor of the forthcoming new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' asked me to bring up to date the historical part of the article 'Typography,' written by me for the last edition of that work in or about 1888, which mainly dealt with the controversy as to when, where, and by whom the art of printing with moveable metal types was invented.

I hardly liked to take this subject up again. But this opportunity for restating once more my views on it was, I thought, too favourable to let slip, especially as I was not aware of anything having occurred since 1888 to change my conviction that the honour of the invention must be ascribed to Haarlem and its citizen, Lourens Janszoon Coster,

and not to Johann Gutenberg of Mainz. Great celebrations in honour of the latter had, indeed, taken place in Germany in 1900, the supposed 500th anniversary of his birth. And on that occasion the foremost bibliographers and scholars of Germany published valuable books and pamphlets on Gutenberg's life, his relatives and parentage, and on some of the incunabula supposed to have been printed by him. A Gutenberg Museum was also established at Mainz on a large scale, as a repository for all obtainable books, documents, etc., bearing on Gutenberg's claims to the honour of the invention.

These new publications, however, though far superior to anything hitherto published on the subject, contain no evidence for Gutenberg's claims, unless we set aside those of Haarlem, which such thorough and fair-minded investigators as Dr. Schwenke and Dr. Zedler, the librarians of the Berlin and Wiesbaden Libraries, have begun to appreciate, if not to accept.

It had long seemed to me that reading and studying the four different texts (two Latin and two Dutch) found in as many separate editions of the 'Speculum,' and an examination of the woodcuts, which are the same in all the four, might give us a clue to the chronological order in which these editions should be placed, and, consequently, to the approximate period to be assigned to them and the other Costeriana. Hitherto the authors who have treated of this work have been far from unanimous as to this order. The systems of a few of the best known (Meerman, Heineken, Koning, Ottley,

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Bernard, Sotheby, and Schreiber, the latest) placed side by side, show this:

MEERMAN (1765)	HEINECKEN (1771)	KONING (1815)	OTTLEY (1816), SOTHEYBY (1858), SCHREIBER (1902)	BERNARD (1853)
I. D. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>
II. L. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>
III. D. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>
IV. L. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>

Want of space prevents me from explaining in detail the reasons for these different systems. Suffice it to say that Heinecken placed the Dutch after the Latin editions, merely because he regarded the printed Dutch texts as translations from the printed Latin texts. Bernard was uncertain as to the order in which to place them. Ottley, Sotheby and Schreiber, who agree in their order, take as guides the absence or presence of breakages and other peculiarities in the woodcuts. These and other points, mentioned casually below, could only be verified by an examination of the texts and woodcuts of all the copies of the book, now scattered over nearly the half of Europe.

There being no copy of the book at Cambridge, I prepared myself for my visits to the European libraries by copying the text of the mixed Latin edition, with all its contractions and mistakes, from J. Ph. Berjeau's facsimile, published in 1861. Meantime, our librarian (Mr. Jenkinson) requested Lord Pembroke to send the two editions (mixed Latin and unmixed Dutch) in his possession to the Uni-

versity Library for my use, which his Lordship readily did, kindly adding his three Blockbooks ('*Ars moriendi*,' '*Apocalypse*,' and '*Biblia Pauperum*').

Autograph notes in the Pembroke (Dutch) copy show that it has been in the possession of the celebrated Antwerp geographer, Abraham Ortelius, and after his death in 1598 passed into the hands of his nephew Jacobus Colius Ortelianus, a Dutch (Flemish) merchant settled in London. At the latter's house, Emmanuel Demetrius, the historian, in his *History* published in 1612 states that he had seen it, and it may be supposed that the copy remained in Cole's possession till his death in 1628. Since then it has probably belonged to the Pembroke family, as their copy of the '*Apocalypse*' also has Cole's autograph. Some of Cole's books, however, which he had received or inherited from his uncle, came into Bishop Moore's library, and from thence into the Cambridge University Library, and Ortelius' *Album* is in the Library of Pembroke College.

The Pembroke Dutch text, though slightly imperfect, I copied as far as it goes, but not with such facility as Berjeau's Latin text, as its printing is rather primitive, and has more numerous and puzzling contractions. With the Pembroke Latin text I collated the one copied from Berjeau's facsimile.

At the end of 1906 I went to Manchester to examine the copies of the mixed Latin and mixed Dutch editions preserved in the Spencer collection of the John Rylands Library. Here Mr. Henry

Guppy, the librarian, gave me every facility in his power for copying the text of the Dutch edition, which differs so much from that of the other (unmixed) Dutch edition, that merely taking notes of the variants would not have sufficed. This work, and other matters connected with it, took me four weeks, and as the Rylands Library contained many other treasures relating to the controversy of the invention, which were all placed at my disposal, I might have passed there another month or two, if Manchester's damp, smoky, black atmosphere, which necessitated my working every day by electric light, had not compelled me to defer the remainder of my task (the collation of the Latin copy and the examination of the Blockbooks) to a more favourable season.

But even the little I had hitherto done gave me already some idea of the order in which, at least, three of the 'Speculum' editions (the mixed Latin and the two Dutch) should be placed. I explained this to a meeting of the London Bibliographical Society, on the 20th of February, and showed at the same time photographs of two of the pages of Lord Pembroke's Dutch edition, taken with his consent, as well as the photograph, which Mr. Guppy had taken for me, of one of the two pages in the Spencer-Rylands Dutch edition printed in a different type from the rest of the book. But my explanation was still incomplete, as I had never yet seen a copy of the unmixed Latin edition, and was not likely to see one till I could go to the Continent.

Towards the end of April I collated the Douce copy of the mixed Latin edition in the Bodleian,

which is in fine condition, exhibited in one of the show-cases. Towards the end of June Lord Pembroke's books were returned, and the time for my tour had come. For various purposes I intended to visit the libraries, museums, or archives at Paris, Strassburg, Geneva, Florence, Munich, Vienna, Leipzig, Berlin, Hanover, Frankfurt-on-Main, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Cologne, Utrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, the Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, and Lille. The well-known publication 'Minerva' gave me, in most instances, the desired information as regards the Directors or Librarians of all the Institutions to be visited, and anticipating no difficulties in obtaining admission anywhere, I provided myself with no introductions. But some ten or twelve days before I started, when I casually told a friend that, according to Bernard and Holtrop, there was a copy of the 'Speculum' in the Pitti Palace at Florence, he expressed a doubt as to whether this could be correct, as the Palace contained pictures, no books. But the 'Speculum' being famous for its engravings, was it not possible that for this reason it had strayed into a collection of pictures? Still, I requested the Director of the Palace to let me know, and the reply-postcard which I had sent came back with the official answer that 'among the collection of prints of the Gallery Uffizi the work "*Speculum humane Salvationis*" did not exist.' As the book might have disappeared from Florence since Bernard and Holtrop's time, I requested the British Consul-General at Florence (Major W. P. Chapman) to make inquiries for me, and I record with much pleasure the promptitude

with which this gentleman ascertained that 'the "Speculum" was preserved in the Palatina Library once at the Pitti Palace and now in the Royal National Library.'

Meantime I had bought tickets for all the places mentioned above (and a few others to be visited for private purposes) from the 'Belgian State Railways' at their London office, 72 Regent Street. And I can recommend other intending travellers to do the same, if they will limit their luggage to so much as can be carried by hand, and dispense with the services of guides, interpreters, etc., supplied by other tourist-agencies. At least, my tickets have carried me, without any trouble, to all the places I wanted to go to, and were, I believe, 10 per cent. cheaper than those of other agencies.

On the 9th July I began my work on the Continent by the collation of the two copies of the *mixed* Latin 'Speculum' in the Paris National Library, which Campbell, and after him Conway, erroneously describe as copies of the Latin *unmixed* edition. In the copy that had formerly belonged to the Sorbonne Library is pasted a slip of paper, on which S. Leigh Sotheby wrote in 1858 that this edition was the *third* edition of the 'Speculum' or second Latin (see above), and referred to his 'Principia Typographica,' Vol. I., pp. 152-67, and Plates xxxv. and xxxvi., as 'showing that the texts in block-type in this edition are facsimiles of those in the first edition, thus satisfactorily proving the order of their issue.' I hope to show in another treatise that Sotheby's 'order' and 'proofs' are not so satisfactory as he thought them to be.

The various fragments of the Costerian 'Donatuses' and 'Doctrinales,' as well as the blockbooks in the Paris Library, were all readily placed at my disposal, and described by me for future use. Incidentally I may refer here to a curious omission in the heading of the celebrated passage in the 'Cologne Chronicle' of 1499 (on folio 311b) on the invention of printing. I had noticed that in the copy of the Cambridge University Library this heading reads: 'Wanne wae ind durch wen is vonden dye onvyssprechlich [end of line] kunst boicher tzo drucken.' This was wrong, as the word before 'kunst' being an adverb could not govern a substantive. Moreover, I remembered that some authors quote the word 'nutze' before 'kunst.' But the two copies in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, read like the University Library copy; so also the British Museum copy. When, therefore, M. Viennot, one of the librarians of the Paris Library, kindly showed me the inner library, and asked me whether I wished to see any particular book, I mentioned the 'Chronicle.' We found three copies of the book on one shelf, all reading like the four just mentioned, but a fourth copy had 'nutze' duly printed at the beginning of the line before 'kunst.' Afterwards I saw copies in the Munich University Library, the town library at Haarlem, and the private library of Messrs. Enschedé, all having 'nutze'; hence it is clear that the omission of this adjective was noticed and rectified in Koelhoff's office after a number of copies had been sold. Of course, its omission does not affect the testimony of the 'Chronicle' as

regards the invention of printing, but it is remarkable that the heading of such a celebrated passage has been quoted and translated, sometimes with, and sometimes without the adjective, for more than four hundred years without the discrepancy having been observed.

On the 18th July I went to Strassburg, where I arrived too late in the day to go to the library or to the archives, but early enough to ascertain that the old MS. Registers belonging to the St. Thomas Stift, which contain important entries relating to Gutenberg, are now deposited for public use in the 'Stadt-Archiv.' Here Dr. Jacob Bernays much facilitated my work by remaining at his post several hours after the official time for closing, and treated me, moreover, at his house with great hospitality. To my disappointment, Dr. K. Schorbach, the librarian of the Kais. Univers. Bibliothek, was on his holiday when I arrived. In his work on the documents relating to Gutenberg's life and work, published by the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft on the occasion of the Gutenberg festivities of 1900, he speaks of me as an obstinate opponent of Gutenberg, and of Dr. Van der Linde, and gives his readers to understand that, in my book on Gutenberg, I suppressed all evidence that seemed to be in favour of Gutenberg, or regarded it as forged. I had wished to explain to him verbally, what I have said two or three times in print, that it would not be worth any one's while to take this course, seeing that the Gutenberg documents, so far as we know them, show him to have been a printer, perhaps the first printer in Germany, but not the inventor

of printing; that this distinction is suggested not merely by Gutenberg's own silence as to any invention, but also by that of his contemporaries, who ought to have spoken of him as the inventor, and would and could have done so, if he had invented anything; and that, in its turn, this silence harmonises with Ulr. Zell's refutation or qualification of the rumours about a Gutenberg invention, and with Junius' advocacy in favour of a Haarlem invention, both corroborated by the circumstantial evidence found in the Costeriana, which point to a stage of printing anterior to that of Mainz.

As there are no Costeriana at Strassburg, and a cursory examination of the St. Thomas Registers showed me that Dr. Schorbach's treatise on the Gutenberg documents was sufficiently clear, I limited my work in this beautiful town to a description of the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' to which Dr. Braunscholtz, the assistant librarian, called my attention.

On the 21st July I arrived at Geneva for the collation of the copy of the mixed Dutch '*Speculum*' preserved in the Public Library. It wants the leaves 1 to 7, 16, 17, and 62, and the binder has cut away the margins close to the letter-press and woodcuts, and in this condition the leaves have been pasted on large sheets of thick light brown paper, so that neither the water-marks nor any rubbings of the frotton can be seen. But as far as the printing of text and figures is concerned it is one of the best copies I have seen. In 1761 it was in the possession of Mr. Marcus at Amsterdam, and a note in the book informs us that in the

eighteenth century it was presented to the Geneva Library by Dr. Tronchin.

From Geneva I went on the 24th of July to Florence, where I had to collate the copy of the *unmixed* Latin 'Speculum,' preserved in the National Library. It only wants the first (blank) leaf, and bears the pressmark E. 6. 7. 15 (Old Palat. Libr. B. A. q. 630), not, as Schreiber says, D. 7. 5. 2 B., which is that of a copy of the 'Speculum humane vite.' I had never yet seen a copy of this *unmixed* edition, except the one at the Hague for a few minutes years ago.

Ottley, Sotheby, Holtrop, and Schreiber (1902), regard this edition as the *first* because, they say, (1) the twenty xylographic pages in the *mixed* are *fac-similes* of the same pages, type-printed, of the *unmixed* Latin edition; (2) a comparison of the composition of the remaining pages, all type-printed in both editions, points to the *unmixed* having served as model to the compositor of the *mixed* edition; (3) the absence of breakages in some of the woodcuts of the *unmixed* Latin, show that it was printed prior to the other three editions, in which the same woodcuts are defective; and (4) the fact that the scrolls in the last woodcut in some of the copies of the *unmixed* Latin edition have a black ground, but are blank in other copies and in all the other editions, proves that the *unmixed* Latin is the earliest of all.

As regards the first point, I found, indeed, such a close agreement between the text of the twenty xylographic pages of the *mixed* Latin edition and that of the corresponding type-printed pages of the

unmixed Latin edition, that, after having copied one or two pages of the Florence copy, I abandoned this work, and merely noted the differences between its text and that of the mixed edition. These differences, however, make it clear that the latter is not a facsimile of the unmixed Latin, but rather the reverse, as I hope to explain in another treatise, when dealing with the other three points referred to above. The Florence copy has blank scrolls in the last woodcut, not *black* as in some other copies of this edition, as noted above.

Saturday, the 3rd of August, I went to Munich, and on Monday, the 5th, began to collate the copy of the *unmixed* Latin edition (pressmark Xyl. 37) preserved in the Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek. It only wants the first (blank) leaf, but most of the rectos and versos of the other leaves left blank by the printer, are pasted together, so that the watermarks cannot be seen. The Munich University Library also possesses a copy (pressmark Xyl. 10) of this same edition, which is slightly imperfect, as it wants the leaves 54, 55 and 59. But it is most valuable, as having the scrolls on the final woodcut (116) *black*, as in the Vienna and John Inglis (now in New York) copies, and not blank as in the other copies. It bears, moreover, the date 1471, written in old Arabic numerals, in *minium* at the end of the Prohemium, as was first pointed out by Dr. W. L. Schreiber ('Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen,' 1895, p. 208). Underneath this contemporary date the same date is repeated, apparently for the sake of greater clearness, in numerals of the eighteenth century. As the librarian of the University Library kindly applied

for the loan of the copy of the Hof-Bibliothek for my use in his library, I was able to study and compare the two Munich copies minutely, the result of which I hope to give in another place.

On the 13th August I left Munich for Vienna, arriving there the following morning at 7.30. Prof. Engelbrecht, of the Vienna University, with whom I had had some correspondence three or four years ago, had, at my request, recommended me to the director of the Hof-Bibliothek, and as Dr. Kugel, the custos of the Library, considerably undertook to be in the Library from 2 to 4 p.m., when it was usually closed, I was enabled to work during these two hours, as well as from 9 to 12 in the morning. The Vienna copy belongs to the *unmixed* Latin edition, like the Florence and two Munich copies, and bears the pressmark 'Inc. 2 D 19.' The scrolls on its last engraving (116) are *black*, like those in the Munich University Library copy, and in the centre scroll, on the black ground, is *written* by a hand of the fifteenth century, 'Mane teter fares.' Unfortunately, the blank verso of this engraving is pasted on to a modern blank leaf, so that the impression of this scroll on the verso cannot be seen. The copy formerly belonged to the Celestins at Paris, and still bears their name (Celestinorum Parisiensium) on the first leaf. The Hof-Bibliothek bought it for 1,600 francs at the La Vallière sale. The same Library possesses also two editions of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' one with, the other without signatures.

From Vienna I went to Leipzig, where no 'Costeriana,' but Klemm's two vellum volumes of

the 42 line Bible are preserved. Herr Heinrich Klemm is known to have been a tailor at Dresden, and to have published books on tailoring. His 'Museum' of Incunabula, of which this Bible forms part, was bought by the Saxon Government in 1886 and presented to the 'Deutsches Buchgewerbemuseum' at Leipzig. He also possessed Gutenberg's 'Printing-Press' bearing the date 1441 (!), discovered (!) at Mainz in 1856, and other rarities of a similar nature. The two volumes of the Bible are ornamented (?) in several places with miniatures of a much later date than the Bible itself. Klemm described it three times, in 1883 and 1884, and calls it a 'real unicum' on account of these miniatures, which he says were probably executed for some prince. But he nowhere speaks of the date '1453,' written in small Arabic numerals of fifteenth century form, at the bottom of the last leaf of the second volume. Yet Klemm must have been aware that the earliest date known up to that time for this Bible was 1456, so that his earlier date, if it were genuine, was of the utmost importance, and would have considerably enhanced the value of his copy. It could, moreover, have assisted him in his Descriptive Catalogue of his Museum in his argument against those who ascribe the Bible to Peter Schoeffer. His silence, therefore, is suspicious, and the doubt is increased by the date being written quite at the bottom of the last leaf. Otherwise, in the date itself I saw nothing suspicious; it is perfectly clear; but it is surrounded by traces of writing now scratched out, and no doubt these traces have caused the

black and indistinct photograph of the date which Dziatzko published a few years ago ('Sammlung,' VII., 104).

It will, perhaps, not seem out of place if I add a few words on Dr. Dziatzko's bibliographical researches and discoveries regarding this Bible, which he published at Berlin in 1890 under the title, 'Gutenberg's früheste Druckerpraxis' (Gutenberg's earliest work as printer). In 1889 he and several of his pupils had elaborately examined and compared the 42 and 36 line Bibles, and found that these resembled each other in every respect; their quires and divisions into volumes were alike (pp. 19-31); paper and watermarks were alike (pp. 32-50); the types (letters, marks of punctuation, etc.) were alike, only those of B 36 were larger than those of B 42 (pp. 50-74). Ergo, he says, the two Bibles were undoubtedly printed in one and the same office, by one and the same printer, who was, of course, John Gutenberg. Therefore, he concluded: (1) Gutenberg printed B 42 during his partnership (1450-5) with Fust; (2) he superintended the manufacture of its type, instructed the compositor and the printer, and hence was its printer; (3) Fust supplied the money and material, and took part in the printing and the revision of the text, and had an important share in its publication; (4) the types came afterwards into the possession of Schoeffer; (5) B 36 is a reprint ('Nachdruck') of B 42, but Fust had nothing to do with it, in spite of its type and workmanship being similar to that of B 42; therefore it was Gutenberg's work; (6) B 36 being a mere

reprint of B 42, with the exception of its commencement, which was, perhaps, set up from a MS., the printing of it cannot be placed before 1450; (7) but, as the types of B 36 existed already in 1454, Gutenberg seems to have been preparing this new type since 1453, when his quarrels with Fust were beginning, and to have printed with it some Donatuses, the Indulgence of 1454, and other small books, and finally B 36, often with the technical and financial assistance of Alb. Pfister, who must have acquired B 36 and its printing-material in or shortly before 1458; (8) Gutenberg *may* have prepared the types for B 36 before 1450, therefore a little time before those of B 42 existed, but finding the former not solid enough or too large, he began preparing the types of B 42, and then, anticipating the quarrels with Fust, commenced the printing of B 36 in partnership with some one else, using his experience gained in printing B 42, but with less care, and merely reprinting B 42, chiefly on paper, and therefore with less cost. And, strange to say, (9) the Donatuses of Dutch origin cannot be ascribed to an earlier date than those attributed to Mainz and Gutenberg, because he (Dr. Dziatzko) has observed a peculiar *x* in the former, which, unless those who defend the Dutch claims prove it to be national Hollandish, must be regarded as an imitation of the same *x* in the Gutenberg prints.

It is difficult to reconcile this Gutenberg activity, this wholly speculative activity, with the Helmasperger Instrument of 6th November, 1455, which rather shows that Gutenberg had as yet done little. But Dziatzko says nothing on this point. To him

the only remaining question was: Which of the two Bibles was the earliest? To decide it he examined most minutely both texts, counted their lines, noted their agreements, contractions, differences, errors, etc., and found unmistakeable evidence of B 36 being a reprint of B 42 (pp. 87 to 112).

It seems never to have occurred to Dr. Dziatzko that the two Bibles could have been printed from two different MSS., and that the difference between their respective types conclusively shows that these at any rate were cut after different MS. models. Occasionally he speaks of MSS., but if I understand him correctly, he thinks that only B 42 was printed from a MS.; that the commencement of B 36 might have been printed from some MS.; but that no MS. was used in the printing of B 36 except where the latter has a more correct reading than B 42. Differences such as Moyses and Moises, ismahel and ysmahel, he regards as whims of the compositor.

We should not forget that to the correctness of Bible-manuscripts somewhat more attention was paid than to that of other books. Hence their texts are not likely to differ from each other so much as that of other books, especially not those written in such large letters as the models of B 36 and B 42 must have been. It follows that the great similarity between the texts of these two Bibles does not necessarily mean that the one must have been printed from the other, and hence it is no clue to the priority of either of them; the similarity may have existed in the MSS.; likewise the differences of spelling between the two texts. Even

the singular cancel in the Stuttgart copy (Dziatzko, p. 95) may be owing to the condition of the MS., but, not having seen this copy, I cannot speak with certainty on this point. A further examination of the two Bibles is not yet superfluous.

Dr. Dziatzko's ninth point, respecting the α in the Dutch Donatuses, we may pass by. If he had examined Dutch incunabula or Dutch manuscripts he would have seen that, in the fifteenth century, the Northern Netherlands had their own national or rather provincial handwritings (including the peculiar α mentioned by him), like the Flemish or Southern Netherlands and Germany. So that the printer of the 'Speculum' and 'Donatuses,' whose types all betray the bookhand indigenous to his province (Holland proper), could not have felt under the necessity of borrowing an isolated α or any other letter of the alphabet. It is to be regretted that Dr. Schwenke has, to some extent, countenanced this α theory.

In the Royal Library at Berlin I was fortunate enough to find the librarian, Dr. Schwenke, at his post. His treatises on early Mainz printing are models of clearness and preciseness, and should be studied by all who wish to know what books are now attributed to Gutenberg. The Berlin copy of the mixed Latin 'Speculum' belonged formerly to Frid. Jac. Roloff; it is imperfect, and its leaves do not all follow in due order. In spite of this, it was to me as important as the Pembroke copy, on account of a bibliographical peculiarity which will be explained elsewhere.

At Hanover, where I arrived on the 22nd of

August, are two copies of the 'Speculum,' one (Bodemann, 2 B) belonging to the *mixed* Latin, the other (Bodemann, 2 A.) to the *unmixed* Latin edition. They are both imperfect; the *mixed* Latin edition wants leaf 25, instead of which it has a duplicate of leaf 21, and it wants leaf 30, for which it has a duplicate of leaf 34. The copy of the *unmixed* Latin edition wants leaves 1 to 4 of the prefatory matter, while leaves 5 and 6 come at the end of the book; it further wants the whole quire *d* (leaves 35 to 48), and the pictures Nos. 93 to 100 come after No. 108. It has *blank* scrolls in the last engraving, but in the central scroll is written VERBUM DOMINI.

The Hanover Library has also a copy of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' of which a note in the book says: 'S. Ansgarius est autor huius libri.' Another note in the book says: 'N.B. Hic liber est de iis qui post inventam artem impressoriam, primo est typis divulgatus a Laurentio Costero Harlemensi anno 1428 usque ad annum 1440. Vide Monathl. Unterred. de anno 1698 mens. Jul. p. m. log. ex die oude Chron. ende Hist. van Zeeland, p. m. 159 in 4to.'

I stopped a night at Frankfurt on the Maine, where, on my arrival in an hotel, I was asked whether I was a Christian, as they took in no Jews.

At Darmstadt I had the pleasure of seeing again the archivist, Dr. Freih. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, who had been so kind and hospitable to me on a former visit, and whose 'Genealogy of Gutenberg,' published in 1900 in the 'Festschrift,' is in every

way clear, elaborate, and accurate. Dr. Ad. Schmidt, the librarian, not only gave me a copy of all that he had written on the Gutenberg question, but showed me, in the few hours at my disposal, many of the interesting rarities under his charge.

At Mainz, the librarians, A. Börckel, H. Heidenheimer, and A. Tronnier, did again their utmost to make my short visit pleasant, and to enlighten me on all the treasures in their keeping; their copy of the Laurentius Valla, ascribed to Coster, is bound up with four or five MS. treatises of the fifteenth century, ranging from 1443 to 1472. The handsome Gutenberg Museum at Mainz deserves to be visited, and should be imitated or excelled by a Coster Museum at Haarlem.

At Wiesbaden, the librarian, Prof. Dr. Zedler, who has contributed so much to the Gutenberg literature, showed me all that he had done to initiate himself in the art of cutting and casting types; he presented me with several photographs of incunabula taken by him, and kindly sent me after my return from my tour, two leaves of a Costerian Doctrinale, discovered by him, for my examination.

At Cologne (30th August) I learnt to my disappointment that, owing to careless custody, the fragments of the 'Donatuses' and 'Doctrinales,' formerly preserved in the library of the Catholic Gymnasium, had already been missing before this library was incorporated with that of the town. Some other fragments, described in Ennen's catalogue as being in the town library, had also disappeared. Consequently I only found (1) two

leaves of a 27-line Donatus (=Ennen's No. 1, p. 7 =No. 33 of my list of Costeriana), but not printed in any Speculum, or any other Costerian type; (2) two leaves of a 24-line Donatus, in the Saliceto type (=Ennen's No. 3, p. 7=my No. 24); (3) two leaves of a 24-line Donatus (=Ennen's No. 4, p. 7=my No. 24?); (4) two leaves of a 29-line Doctrinale, in the Saliceto type (=Ennen's No. 5, and my No. 36); and (5) two leaves of a 32-line Doctrinale (=Ennen's No. 6, and my No. 15) in the small Speculum type. The town library also possesses an edition of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and the 'Apocalypse.'

From Cologne I went (30th August) to the University Library at Utrecht, to examine again the fragments of the *French* Donatus printed in the Speculum type, and the fragments of Lud. Pontani de Roma, 'Singularia Juris' (my No. 25), and the other work of Pontanus, which latter are printed on one side of the leaf only (see my No. 26). I also examined half a dozen MSS., written at Utrecht about the middle of the fifteenth century (one actually dated 1458), which the librarian, Dr. Van Someren, kindly looked up for me, to see whether their handwritings bore any resemblance to the Costerian types, or could support the theory that the Costeriana might have been printed at Utrecht; but I found in none of them any such similarity. I also perused the letters written by and to Hadrianus Junius, preserved in the same university library, but in none of them was there any allusion to his account of the invention of printing.

At Utrecht I had already noticed a good deal of bunting in honour of Queen Wilhelmina's birthday (31st August), and on my arrival at Haarlem in the evening the whole town was celebrating the event most enthusiastically. A large crowd of people thronged the brilliantly illuminated market-place, where the statue of Lourens Janszoon Coster stood, for that evening, in darkness behind a marquee in which a military band were playing.

The Haarlem Town Library possesses a copy of the *unmixed* Latin 'Speculum,' with the scrolls of the last woodcut left blank by the printer, but the blank has been filled up with some yellow fluid. The same library has also two copies of the so-called *unmixed* Dutch edition; in one of them two sheets (leaves 24-27) are replaced by the corresponding sheets of the later (or *mixed*) Dutch edition; the other copy is all in loose leaves, mounted on other (modern) paper. But in spite of these imperfections, or rather on account of them, the two copies have a great bibliographical importance, which I also hope to explain elsewhere.

I also examined here the 'Genealogy of Coster,' which, after its very faulty publication by Dr. Van der Linde in 1870, has been the cause of a good deal of controversy. It is clear, from its different writings, that it must have been written up at various times. The present piece of parchment was evidently prepared before 1559, the year which occurs in its fifth division. But the first three divisions have all been written by one hand, in Roman, or Karoline minuscules, which shows that these divisions were copied straightway from some earlier genealogy or

other document. The handwriting changes at the fourth division, containing only the names of Gerrit Thomass (who died about 1563-4) and his wife, Ermingaert Jansdochter, for whom the 'Genealogy' is presumed to have been made. It then continues till the fifth entry in the fifth division, at the end of which is added, 'Na 1559 den Junii' (after 1559 the of June), after which other hands continue. It is obvious that, the first three parts of this 'Genealogy' being a copy of some earlier document or documents, we cannot argue, as some authors do, that the 'Genealogy' did not originate earlier than 1520-60. This approximate date may be assumed with respect to a portion or portions that follow after the first three divisions, but to the latter it is not unreasonable to assign a much earlier date.

At the Hague the Museum Meerman-Westreenianum possesses a perfect copy of the *mixed* Dutch Spiegel; an imperfect copy of the mixed Latin edition; the single leaf 46 of the unmixed Dutch edition, which is wanting in the copy of this edition preserved at Lille; and a copy of the unmixed Latin edition which only wants the Prohemium; the scrolls in the last woodcut have been left blank by the printer, but a contemporary hand has filled them up with the words 'mane thekel phares,' and the interpretations *nus appēsio dīfio*. After having made descriptions of several fragments of Costerian Donatuses and Doctrinales belonging to the Royal Library, I was unable to finish all my collations, as, by some accident, the key of one of the presses in which fragments were locked up, was

not accessible. I need not say that Dr. Knuttel, the curator of the museum, did what he could to further my work, and to make everything agreeable to me. Of the leaf of the 'Penitential Psalms,' printed in the Speculum type on one side of the vellum, the librarian allowed me to have a photograph taken for future use. I found another copy of the very same leaf in the Royal Library at Brussels, not mentioned by Campbell.

Passing rapidly from the Hague through Delft, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, I was collating, on the 15th September, the copy of the unmixed Latin 'Speculum' preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. It is imperfect, wanting leaves 8, 9, 18, 19, and 31, while most of the other leaves are bound in an irregular order; its scrolls in the last engraving are blank. I naturally examined here again the Maria engraving of 1418, for which every facility was given me by the keeper of the Print Department, M. van Bastelaer. I could find no trace whatever of the alleged scratching or any other tampering with the date, and there is no room for an L, to have made 1468. The date 1418 is genuine enough. So is that of 1440, which occurs twice in the 'Pomerium Spirituale,' which the conservateur of the library allowed me to examine at my leisure. We know already from Sir Martin Conway's description that the text of this work was written for the purpose of explaining the wood-engravings now pasted on to the leaves of text, that, therefore, these engravings could not be later than 1440, and after having examined the book,

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I doubt whether any one could come to any other conclusion. As has been said above, I found here another copy of the same leaf of the 'Penitential Psalms,' which I had already examined at the Hague.

From Brussels I went to Lille to examine and collate the important copy of the *unmixed* Dutch edition, preserved in the Town Library. Most of the peculiarities have already been described by Bernard ('Origine de l'imprimerie,' p. 20 *sqq.*), Holtrop ('Monum.') and others.

But these isolated descriptions cannot bring out the real importance of this copy for the bibliography of the 'Speculum.' Its peculiarities should be examined and placed side by side with those in the other editions of the work—it, however, cannot be done in this short article.

From Lille I returned, via Calais and Dover, to Cambridge, on the 21st September, not altogether sorry that this eleven weeks' life in steamers, trains, tunnels, hotels, motor 'buses, trams, restaurants, cafés, etc., coupled with hard work (sometimes from eight o'clock in the morning till six or seven in the evening) in libraries, museums, etc., had come to an end for the present.

The December following, I requested the Earl of Crawford to send his copy of the mixed Dutch 'Spiegel,' which formerly belonged to the Enschedé family at Haarlem, to the British Museum, where I wished to examine it side by side with the Grenville copy of the mixed Latin edition. With the director's consent and ready support of my application, Lord Balcarres, in the absence of his father,

kindly forwarded the book to the Museum. Some of its margins are tender and bear traces of much wear and tear. For this reason, no doubt, it was interleaved by M. Enschedé. Otherwise the copy is in fine condition, and the text, as well as the woodcuts, are intact.

As far as I know, there are now only two copies of the unmixed Latin 'Speculum' which I have not yet seen: one which formerly belonged to Mr. John Inglis, and is now in the Lennox Library; another is in the Library at Stuttgart; a third (mixed Latin) belongs to Capt. Holford. The latter two I hope to collate shortly.

I need not point out to those who have had the patience to read the above lines that studies of this kind are interesting, but laborious and expensive, as the books to be examined are scattered over nearly the half of Europe. I gladly record, however, the universal readiness of librarians and directors of libraries and museums wherever I came to assist me in every way, and even to give me special facilities where practicable. I started on my tour convinced that the claims of Haarlem rested on firm grounds, but, with the desire to notice and work out anything that might tell against them. I have returned more convinced than ever of the justness of these claims, and with considerable confidence as to the chronological order in which the various editions and issues of the 'Speculum' must be placed. My reasons for this confidence, and the outcome of my researches, I hope to submit to those who take an interest in these studies more at length in a separate work on

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the invention of printing to be published before long, and in my article for the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

J. H. HESSELS.

Cambridge,
April, 1908.

A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

III.—LENDING LIBRARIES—BRANCHES.

THE distribution of books to be read in the homes of the people has always been one of the principal functions of the Public Libraries. Considerable ingenuity has been displayed in devising methods of enabling the readers to find books, and the staff to record the books lent with a view to securing their prompt return. This side of the subject has received attention some of which would have been better bestowed in considering whether, under all the circumstances, the best provision possible had been made for the readers.

Take as an example the question of what books should go into the lending and reference departments. In one very important town with a fine system of libraries I was told some years ago that the supply of books for the lending libraries was governed by the cost. No book which cost more than six shillings was lent for home reading. The plan was simple, and absurd. It has most likely been abandoned long ago in favour of some more reasonable method, and I only mention it as an illustration of the gross mistakes which have been made in dealing with this important subject. For a national library like the British Museum, a fixed

rule, that the people must come to the books, is inevitable, and no person capable of weighing the circumstances would question the rule. For those readers and writers unable to avail themselves of the British Museum, the London Library, St. James's Square, offers facilities for obtaining books for home use which have been a boon to a long roll of illustrious authors. These two libraries, it seems to me, offer for our guidance valuable experience. Every book in the British Museum is at home when called for; a reader knows that under no circumstances will he find the book away from the building. The London Library, on the other hand, discovered long ago that there is a very large class of people who can work better at home than in a public library, and many who are unable to find time to read or write except at times when the library is closed.

The question of lending and reference should, I think, be approached with these facts and experiences in mind. The result will inevitably be to treat the supply of books for home reading in a more liberal spirit.

Years ago, when the Cardiff Library was being starved on an utterly inadequate income, the great desire of the Committee, or at any rate of some of the most active members, was to build up a reference library. To this end, purchases were made of what were considered desirable books, and these were duly placed upon the reference shelves, there to remain, unknown and unused, from year to year. They were dusted occasionally, and checked at the stock-taking to make sure that they were still on

the shelves, but no effort was made to bring them into use. The books had, in fact, been purchased for imaginary readers then non-existent, while the wants of the actually existing readers who held borrowers' tickets for the lending library were neglected, and to some extent deliberately overridden. There seems to be a subtle fascination for some minds in fixing a standard of reading for their neighbours. It is so comforting when, after a hard day's work, one settles down to forget the trials of life in company with a rousing novel, to reflect that the right books, the books one ought to read, have been duly provided for other people. I need hardly say that the desire to foster a love of good books by means of the reference library was a dismal failure. The problem was then approached from another point of view. The lending library became the focus of the Committee's efforts, and steps were taken to improve the supply of books for home reading, and to make the public acquainted with what was being done. The result was almost magical. The demand grew so rapidly that it was impossible to keep pace with it. Not only was the lending library crowded with eager borrowers, but branch libraries in the suburbs were loudly called for, and candidates at the municipal elections had to pledge themselves to vote for branch libraries. For some years this period of strain continued. To maintain branches out of the income then available was an impossibility, and would result in crippling all round; yet, behind the fear of general impoverishment from trying to do too much was a feeling of satisfaction that the

library cause was gathering strength, combined with a confidence that, when the right moment came, the ratepayers would settle the matter in their own way.

There is no doubt whatever that the large body of ratepayers have always been in advance of their elected representatives as regards liberality to the libraries. I suspect it is so in a great many places, but in Cardiff it was strikingly shown when the ratepayers grasped the fact that if the work of the libraries was to go on unimpaired, the statutory rate must be increased by a special local act. The Corporation reluctantly inserted a clause in an omnibus local bill. I say reluctantly because, although the clause was agreed to unanimously by the Corporation, it was the driving-power of the ratepayers which made several members agree to it. Then came the necessary public meeting to approve or otherwise the objects of the bill, which included some things violently opposed by railway and other large vested interests. These public meetings had hitherto been attended by a handful of people. On this occasion the first meeting had to be adjourned to enable the largest hall in Cardiff to be engaged; and when the adjourned meeting began the hall was packed from end to end, and from floor to ceiling. Representative leaders of the opposition to the bill were present in force with their supporters, and a stormy time was looked for. I can honestly say that I expected the increase of the library income would be relegated to the Greek calends. The Mayor, who presided, took a different and, as it proved, a more correct

view of the public temper. He decided that the library clause should be the first to be submitted to the meeting, and I shall never forget the ringing cheers with which it was carried without a dissentient voice being raised. The strength of public opinion in favour of the libraries was a revelation to the members of the Corporation. I believe that this feeling, perhaps stronger, still exists, and that, if it becomes necessary, the ratepayers will repeat the demonstration of 1897.

This strong body of public opinion was created because we tried to meet the need which existed, trusting to time to bring about an appreciation of the highest of all forms of library work, and not trusting in vain, as I hope to show in a future article dealing with the reference library.

In buying books for the lending libraries our plan has always been to provide adequately for the recreative side; to build up a collection answering the immediate needs of the district; to be some way in front of the public taste without ignoring it; and to allow the people to borrow books which in most libraries are reserved for reference use, when it can be done without interfering with the needs of others. As a concrete instance Holtzapffel's book on 'Turning,' in five volumes, may be mentioned. For over twenty years that work has been in the lending library, and has been borrowed over and over again by experts in that craft, who have steadily worked through it volume by volume, often with the book open at the lathe. I recall a succession of brilliant craftsmen, and at least one learned amateur, to whom the privilege of being

able to borrow and renew the volumes of that book has been an inestimable boon. They have shown me examples of their work from time to time, and talked to me of problems to be mastered and difficulties overcome. The work cost £5 11s.; the use which has been made of it fully justifies the expenditure.

Many other instances of a similar kind might be cited. One other must suffice, for the present at any rate: Freeman's 'History of the Norman Conquest,' a book of special interest in this locality, for historical and also for personal reasons, because Professor Freeman for some years resided at Lanrumney Hall, near Cardiff, and studied the Norman Conquest of Wales and the Borders on the spot, besides devoting his attention to the rich archæology and the interesting architecture of Llandaff Cathedral and other sites and churches. 'The History of the Norman Conquest' has been read through by several readers who could not have done so had it been in the reference library.

We have tried in dealing with the lending libraries to carry out, as far as circumstances would allow, the spirit of the London Library. Any books with which a man or woman can with greater advantage work at home we lend, unless there is some special reason for withholding it. It would be unreasonable to lend the volumes of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' for example, though occasionally one finds people unreasonable enough to ask it. The same remark applies naturally to manuscripts, to many illustrated

books, to rare books, and works the value of which to the public consists in the fact that they are always at home when wanted.

In the purchase of books for recreative reading, the Book Selection Committee has always adhered to the principle that it is a duty and a privilege to provide healthy reading of this class, but that it is not necessary to buy the latest six-shilling shocker, or any work which has a passing vogue. The great masterpieces of literature are always kept supplied, and as often as worn out renewed with good editions. Cheap reprints are entirely avoided. The æsthetic effect of good print, good paper and neat binding have weight, and though we are compelled by the exigencies of the case to bind strongly and cheaply books constantly in circulation, and regularly worn out after three or four years, yet wherever possible, books for the lending libraries are bound neatly in half morocco.

The difficulties of book selection increase year by year. The rage for cheapness and for illustrations, the feverish haste with which books are turned out by authors and publishers, can only result in our libraries becoming, in a few years, literary charnel-houses, with a few heaps of china clay, some sticky straw-coloured masses of pulpy matter with spots of black resembling printers' ink, and here and there a few noble volumes to deride the makers and purchasers of the heaps of books which have fallen into premature decay. It is a duty owing to posterity that we should avoid books made up of bad materials. There is an even stronger reason for doing so—the duty to the

present generation of readers. Paper having a dead white surface, highly glazed to receive the impressions from lightly engraved half-tone blocks, is to be avoided because of its liability to speedy decay, and should be avoided even more because during its short existence it may be the means of injuring the eyesight of those who read. Some publishers have made the very serious mistake of printing books throughout on coated paper, in order to work the half-tone illustrations with the text. An important and interesting book of travel, Miss Lowthian Bell's 'Desert and the Sown,' recently issued, is a case in point. How many people have been able to read that book through? I tried to read it, and found the effect on the eyes so injurious, after a couple of pages, that the effort was abandoned. We do not intend to purchase books such as this for the libraries, either new or second-hand. However excellent they may be in other respects, we feel it would be wrong, knowing their injurious effect on the eyesight, to put them into the hands of our readers. It is part of our policy to avoid books when the physical constituents are unsuitable. I must resist the temptation to arraign further those who are doing their best to ruin our books, and incidentally bringing about a decrease of their own profits. One cannot, however, but feel a pang at the reflection that the blame for this degradation of the nobility of books rests with the publishers, who for four centuries have been the proud conservators of the world's literature. It is odd, too, that the efforts of the Kelmscott, the Doves and other famous presses to

improve the standard, have been followed by an accelerated decline in other quarters.

Twenty years ago this difficulty about materials hardly existed, and it was comparatively easy to lay down and adhere to a few main principles for the selection of books for lending libraries. The principles are still followed, though less closely, by reason of the complications just described. Briefly, we do not attempt to supply new novels, the selection being confined to the best, and to the standard novels of the past. An important work in science, history, art, or which bears in any way on the industrial, commercial, educational and other activities of the district, is purchased at once, whatever the price. The bulky volumes of reminiscences, biography, and similar works issued at high prices with the knowledge that but a brief season awaits them, we buy second hand, or not at all. The distribution of books for home reading is now made from six centres, the chief library and five branches. The school distribution, described in a former article, is of course excluded from this article, the intention being to deal now with the library's activities on behalf of adults, though some children not provided for through public schools are admitted to the lending libraries.

That the branch libraries were the result of a demand on the part of the ratepayers for greater facilities to obtain the loan of books has already been explained. Cardiff is divided at present into ten wards for municipal representation purposes, and there was at one time a danger of every ward being made the unit for a branch library. It was

pointed out that there had already been two rearrangements of the wards, increasing the number from three to five and from five to ten. The adoption of the ward system of branch libraries might therefore result in complications. A study of the town map, taking into account especially the extent to which districts were cut off by railways, rivers, and other large obstacles, gave six districts, which might be treated as library units. For one of these, the Docks, a good reading-room only was necessary. The other five it was decided to supply with libraries as well as reading-rooms. In most cases the reading-rooms had to suffice until the funds allowed of the addition of libraries. This was done gradually, extending over a period of thirteen years, 1894-1907. The development of the branches has been full of interest and instruction. Two of them are in districts having residents entirely of the working class except the shopkeepers, the doctors, and the clergy and ministers. The bulk of the grown-up people in these districts had never read through a book in their lives. In both districts we found that the adults seldom came to the library to exchange books, though we judged from the books borrowed that a proportion were for adults. In one of the districts the assistant in charge was a steady, gentle, and kind-hearted young man, of whom no borrower need be afraid, yet he failed to attract any visitors to the lending library except boys and girls. When an opportunity of changing came we sent to that district a well-educated lady of exceptional talent, always well and smartly dressed, who could be sharp with her

speech on occasions, but full of loving sympathy and helpfulness, and a believer in the power of literature to cheer and refine the dreary lives of the hardworking poor.

The scene quietly but surely changed, until in time the assistant in charge of the library was the confidante and the helper of numbers of women and men in the choice of books; shy women, young and old, yearning for a kindly word of advice and sympathy, would take their knitting or fancy work to the library to be inspected, while boys and girls would take drawings or other results of their handicraft for the same purpose. It was this lady who discovered for me that people who have reached middle life without book-reading are frightened by a long book just as young children are, only the children quickly overcome the difficulty, while very often the older people do not. To test the truth of the theory a number of small volumes of stories were sent to this branch, with excellent results. This valuable hint is always kept in mind in purchasing books for use in such districts.

I have no doubt that the popularity of Mrs. Henry Wood and other writers with this class of reader is due to the fact that they write about incidents and environments which can be easily comprehended and in a simple style. The popularity of the 'Family Herald' and similar publications has been explained on the ground that they take people out of the sordid world in which they live to an ideal world where dukes marry housemaids. I should be inclined to attribute a large measure of the success of these weekly journals to the other

factor I have mentioned, the mental difficulty of facing a long book, which disappears when the book is served up in weekly instalments.

The opening of branches was the means of introducing the libraries to an entirely new set of readers, unaccustomed to access to any large number of books, and for various reasons, unable to borrow from the Central Library. It was a surprise to me to find how restricted are the movements of large numbers of people residing in the suburbs. They are local to a degree, and only journey to the centre of the town on rare occasions. These are the very people to whom the lighter side of the library is a real boon. When the latest of our branch libraries was opened a little over a year ago in a suburb with a population of about 30,000 residing from one to two miles from the Central Library, we were very much struck with the limited knowledge possessed by a large number of borrowers with regard to books. This library is worked on the safeguarded open access principle with great success, and the rapid extension of the borrowers' knowledge of books is very noteworthy. People who, before the library was opened, had no ideas beyond the titles of a few current sensational works of a poor character, have since discovered the wonderland of the great English writers, a fact of which critics who are constantly trying to disparage the work of public libraries would do well to take note.

For the present we consider that our scheme of library extension is complete, and our efforts are now being directed to working the whole harmoniously, so that the public may get the greatest

advantage at the least expenditure, or, in other words, we try to spread the book-purchasing fund over as wide a field of selection as we can. If one copy of a book can be made to serve all the libraries, we do not want to buy a second, and to meet this all the libraries are connected up to the telephone exchange. Books required by readers are requisitioned from the Central Library or a branch as occasion arises. In this way the whole of the Central Library with its large stock supplements the stock of each branch, and in fact the contents of six libraries can be drawn upon at any one of the distributing centres. When, however, more than one copy is necessary to meet the demand, the number is increased, and of many popular books we have from twenty to thirty copies in the six libraries.

A word about our experience with the telephone. The rent for connecting the branches to the telephone exchange would be about £48 per annum, and for private communication with the Central Library only, rather more. By an arrangement with the National Telephone Co. each branch has been made a public call-office with, in two cases, extensions from the call-box to the desk in the lending department. We pay thirty shillings per annum for these extensions and a penny for every message sent from the branches, the total cost being under £10 per annum. For the Central Library telephone exchange rent is paid, and we can therefore call any of the branches without further cost.

We do not restrict readers to one ticket, nor do

we issue a second ticket for any one library. If a reader chooses to go to the Central Library and to each of the five branches and take out a ticket, he can borrow six books at a time. The tickets are also interchangeable between the libraries, provided no reader takes two books in his own name from the same library. This seems to be a better system than the 'student's ticket' of meeting the needs of readers who require more than one book. In effect it is working out that a reader obtains his recreative reading from the branch nearest his home, and resorts to the Central Library for his more solid reading, and we hope ultimately to develop this to such an extent that the Central Library will do only a limited amount of work in the way of circulating light reading, and serve chiefly as a library for those who require the best books. For a long time this development can only be to a limited extent.

We try in the lending libraries to embrace the wants of all the residents within the area served. As in many other libraries, music is an important feature with us, but the selection is confined to high-class music, vocal and instrumental. We have recently issued a catalogue, eighty pages, of this section. We have a large number of books for the blind in Braille and Moon characters, and, to meet the requirements of the many borrowers who read foreign languages either for study or recreation, a strong French section (added to from time to time), a German section, and a small collection of books in Spanish.

JOHN · BALLINGER.

RECENT ENGLISH PURCHASES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



PREVIOUS article under this heading appeared in 'THE LIBRARY' for January, 1905, and it is pleasant to note that in the intervening three years no fewer than 222 English books printed before the close of the year 1640 have been acquired for the British Museum. It is even more pleasing to be able to state that the quality of these purchases has been as well maintained as their quantity. In my last article it was lamented that while as many as five Caxtons had been purchased during the Keepership of Dr. Garnett, since his retirement in 1899, not a single book by that printer which the Museum lacked had come into the market. During the last three years two new Caxtons have been acquired,—the Book of Good Manners, printed in 1487, and the singular issue of the Indulgence of 1481. The Book of Good Manners belonged to what had originally been a very fine volume in an early Cambridge stamped binding, which contained also the Royal Book and the Doctrinal of Sapience, and was sold at the Whitley Beaumont sale at Hodgson's in November, 1906. While in Yorkshire it had lost fifty-nine leaves of the Royal Book, six of the Book of Good Manners, and thirty-nine of the Doctrinal; and the margins of many

others had been cut off, by some one in need of blank paper, close up to the text. The volume was knocked down to Mr. Quaritch for £470, and by an arrangement with him, the Book of Good Manners and the binding passed to the British Museum, the fragments of the two larger books, of both of which the Museum possessed copies, remaining in his hands. The volume has now been made up to its original size with blank paper and the mutilated leaves skilfully re-margined, though, according to the tradition which is firmly established at the Museum, without any attempt to conceal what has been done. Only three other copies of the Book of Good Manners are known, all in public libraries (Lambeth, Cambridge University, and Copenhagen), and it was thus one which there seemed little hope that the Museum would ever acquire. To obtain sixty out of its sixty-six leaves at a moderate price was a stroke of luck.

The singular issue of the Indulgence of 1481 was the second of the two copies sold by the Bedford Library at the same time as the copy of the Royal Book, in the binding of which they had been preserved. The other copy was acquired by Mr. Pierpoint Morgan. By these two acquisitions the primacy which the British Museum had gained in the matter of Caxtons during Dr. Garnett's tenure of the Keepership of Printed Books was still further strengthened.

Besides the Caxtons only one English incunable has been added to the library, a good copy of the 'Contemplacyon of Sinners,' printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 10th July, 1499. Herbert's description

of this book is so quaint and full that it may be quoted in place of any more modern account :

‘This is a very scarce book, and composed in an uncommon manner. Here are seven different topics, or meditations, divided according to the seven days of the week ; consisting of brief sentences, because the life of man is short ; drawn out of the Scriptures, moral philosophers, fathers and Doctors of the church, all in Latin ; and, that it may appear more authentic, the author’s name is quoted to each sentence.

‘Then follows a paraphrasticall translation thereof, or a kind of concordance in English verse. Every meditation has a wood-print prefixed to it, adapted to the subject. The first, for Monday, sets forth the vanity of this wretched world. The figure, as described in the table of contents, is a globe in the sea ; betokening continual peril and trouble ; but to the copy in the Harleian Library, it is a peasant, with a spade in one hand and a whip in the other. The 2d for Tuesday is the state of innocence, with the picture of Adam and Eve in paradise. The 3d displays the state of deadly sin, with the figures of Death, &c., in three skeletons terrifying three gallants on horseback, and an old hermit pointing to a crucifix between them. The 4th is a remembrance of the general doom, with a print of the final punishment and reward of the departed according to their deserts in this life. The 5th, the passion of our Saviour, with the print thereof. The 6th, hell torments, with a figure of them. The 7th represents the joys of heaven, which with its print ends the week’s meditations.

‘There is also at the beginning and end, a print of a bishop sitting and giving a book to, or receiving it from, a priest on his knees. The prologue informs us, that “At the deuoute & dylygent request of the ryght reuerend fader in God, and lorde Rychard, bysshop of Dureham, and lorde pryuy seale of England, this lyttell

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boke namyd Contemplacion of synners, is complyd and fynysshed. The sayd blessyd fader in God, desyryng gretly all vertue to encrease and vyce to be exiled, hath caused this booke to be enprinted, to the entente that oft redyng this may surely serche, and truly knowe the state of his conscience."

No other book printed by De Worde has been acquired, and only one Pynson, a hitherto unrecorded issue from his press, 'Plutarchus de tuenda bona valetudine, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete,' dedicated to John Young, Warden of New College, Oxford, and Archdeacon of London. This is a small quarto, consisting of 24 leaves (A-D^{8.4}), with the colophon: 'Londini in edibus Rychardi Pynson impressoris regij. Anno salutis Millesimo. quingētesimo. xiii Qui to Calēdas Augūstas,' and Pynson's device 3b. Bound with it are eight other works printed between 1506 and 1519 at Cologne, Strassburg, Tübingen, Louvain, and Paris, most of them unluckily already in the Museum.

Another Erasmus book from an early press is Leonard Cox's translation of his 'Paraphrase upon y^e Epistle of Saint Paule vnto his discypyle Titus,' printed by John Byddell. Of other English printers of the first half of the sixteenth century, Berthelet is the only one largely represented, among the books of his recently acquired being Lupset's 'A Treatise of Charite' and 'The Boke for a Justice of the Peace,' both of them printed in 1539, and each being in its original binding with other pieces of his printing unfortunately already in the Museum, an undated edition of the 'Disputatio inter clericum et militem,' Xenophon's 'Treatise of Hous-

holde' (1544), and 'The Decree for Tithes to be payed in London' (1546). Among other early books may be mentioned 'The Order of the Great Turkes Court' (Grafton, 1542), 'A Christmas Banket,' by Theodore Basille, the pseudonym of Thomas Becon, printed by Mayler for Gough (1542), and a rare edition of Alexander Barclay's 'Thre Eclogs,' printed by Humphrey Powell (c. 1548).

Typographical interest continues somewhat later in Scotland than in England, and the Scottish books purchased have been unusually numerous and valuable. Special mention may be made of William Lauder's 'Ane Compendious and Breve Tractate concernyng y^e office and dewtie of Kyngis,' printed by John Scot in 1556, almost certainly at St. Andrew's, where he had printed the first book four years before. Of the Tractate only one other copy is recorded, that now at Britwell. The one acquired for the Museum was David Laing's, and sold at his sale for £77. Another St. Andrews book, of which Laing's copy has been acquired, is Knox's 'Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie,' printed by Lekpreuik in 1572. This sold in Laing's sale for £53. In neither case has the Museum lost anything by waiting, as the competition for Laing's books when they first came into the market drove them up to prices which have not been maintained. Besides these and many other purchases, five important Scottish proclamations, three printed by Lekpreuik, one by Bassandyne and one by Ros, between the years 1567 and 1574, have come to light among the Cotton

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Manuscripts and been entered in the Catalogue of Printed Books.

Among books printed abroad for the English market we may note a *Sarum Horae* of 1510, printed at Paris by Thielmann Kerver for William Bretton, another printed at Rouen by Nicolas Le Roux for Jacques Cousin in 1537, and Knox's 'Copie of an Epistle vnto the inhabitants of New-castle,' prettily printed in sextodecimo at Geneva in 1559. Earlier than any of these is an edition of the '*Multorum vocabulorum equiuocorum interpretatio Magistri Johannis de Garlandia*,' printed '*secundum ordinem alphabeti vnacum interpretatione Anglice lingue*,' at Paris in 1502, and interesting as containing a rather fulsome address headed '*Johannes antonius venetus bibliopola parisiensis adolescentibus studiosis in anglia salutem*,' in which there is a flattering reference¹ to Frederick Egmont, a Paris bookseller in England, for whom several notable book-lovers have a special regard.

In no department of our earlier literature is the British Museum more rich than in the quarto plays printed before the closing of the theatres in 1642. The richer a collection is the more difficult is it to add to, and it is therefore very satisfactory that as many as nine important additions have been lately acquired. Seven of these belonged to that remarkable volume of plays of which report says that it came over to Messrs. Sotheby by post from Ireland without even a paper wrapper round it,

¹ Qui cum in vestra excellentissima anglie patria et librorum sit fidelissimus mercator et amicorum suorum amantissimus, nullum vnquam librum ex officina sua nisi perquam castigatum emittit.

but with a label pasted on the binding, after an opinion that it was worth sending had been elicited by the novel device of tearing out a leaf and sending it as a specimen. The seven plays bought by the Museum were :

The Enterlude of Johan the Evangelist. John Waley. [n.d.]

An Enterlude of Welth and Helth. [John Waley.] [n.d.]

The playe of the Weather. By John Heywoode. John Awdely. [n.d.]

An Enterlude called Lusty Juuentus. John Awdely. [n.d.]

A pretie Enterlude called Nice Wanton. John Allde. [n.d.]

A newe Interlude of Impacyente poverte. John King. 1560.

A preaty new Enterlude of the Story of King Daryus. Hugh Jackson. 1577.

At the time of the sale no other copies of John the Evangelist, Wealth and Health, or Impacient Poverty were known, and Jackson's edition of King Darius and Awdeley's Lusty Juuentus were also, as far as bibliographical records showed, 'unique.' Considerable interest was thus taken in the Museum's new acquisitions, two and three reprints of some of them having already appeared. Nevertheless another copy of John the Evangelist and another issue of Wealth and Health came on the market within a twelvemonth, and were knocked down for much smaller prices than the Museum had paid. These chances have to be taken philosophically, and in this case philosophy

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was rendered pleasantly easy by the fact that the better bargains fell to one of the few collectors who steadily stand aside, no matter what the temptation, when they know that the British Museum is bidding. It was at the same sale as these better bargains were made that the eighth play was bought, Colwell's edition of Bales' 'Newe Comedy or Enterlude concernyng thre lawes, of Nature, Moises and Christe' (1562). The other dramatic acquisition was a much later one, the issue of Chapman's *Cæsar and Pompey*, in which the title reads, 'The Warres of Pompey and Cæsar' (1631).

Of other purchases of literary importance the chief are 'Tarlton's newes out of Purgatorie,' printed for T. G. and T. N., 1590; the first edition of Nash's 'Pierce Pennilesse, his supplication to the Divell,' printed by Richard Jones, 1592; the second edition of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' (W. Ponsonby, 1593), the first with the allegorical title-page, of which Mr. Mallock published so ludicrous a misinterpretation a few years ago, and the Rowfant copy of Sidney's 'Defence of Poesie,' printed (by Thomas Creed) for William Ponsonby in 1595. Of this last work the unauthorized edition by Olney, in which it is called 'An Apologie for Poetrie,' was already in the Museum, which now only needs one of the less important editions of 'Astrophel and Stella' to complete its Sidney collection. Yates's 'Castle of Courtesie' and 'Hould of Humilitie' (John Wolfe, 1582), and 'Christes Bloodie Sweat,' by J. F. (1616), besides the edition of Barclay's 'Thre Eclogs,' already

mentioned, are among the poetical acquisitions of minor importance.

This survey, which necessarily partakes very much of a catalogue, is already long enough, and yet of the 222 earlier English acquisitions mentioned in our first paragraph, some two hundred remain unsung. To the sympathetic student few of them are without interest. Many of them would be worth buying if only for the quaint felicity of their titles: 'The Olive Leafe, or Universall A B C,' 'The Christians Map of the World,' 'The Mirrour or Miracle of Gods Love unto the World of His Ele&ct,' 'Doubting's Downfall,' 'Seven Goulden Candlesticks houlding the seaven greatest lights of Christian Religion,' 'A Silver Watch Bell,' 'A Fig for the Spaniard,' 'The Drunkard's Cup,' 'The Soules Alarum bell,' 'The Clearing of the Saints' Sight,' 'A Jewell for the Ear':—the books thus announced may not greatly appeal to our modern taste, but the titles of them are certainly attractive. Most of them, of course, are theological, and indeed of the two hundred books which cannot be noticed individually theology accounts probably for about a hundred and fifty, and of these perhaps as many as half are sermons. The appetite for sermons must indeed have been enormous. We have noticed above three cases in which the Museum has had to acquire a whole volume of tracts for the sake of one or two which it did not already possess. But among its recent acquisitions is a volume containing six sermons published between 1606 and 1620, and of these six sermons not one was already on its shelves!

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Clearly the number of such discourses which may still be acquired is enormous ; but, as we have seen, the theological literature which bulks largely among recent acquisitions is not unaccompanied by more interesting purchases, and the two Caxtons, a fifteenth century De Worde, nine early plays, and Sidney's 'Defence of Poesie' bring up the average interest of the earlier English purchases during these three years to a standard of which, in these days of high prices, and less money than it used to have with which to pay them, even the British Museum need not be discontented.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

REVIEWS.

The Bibliophile: a magazine and review for the collector, student, and general reader. The Bibliophile Office, Thanet House, Strand. Nos. 1—4. Sixpence each.

NO one has yet succeeded in firmly establishing a popular magazine for book-lovers in England. We hope that the 'Bibliophile,' which made its first appearance last March, after some nine months of careful preparation, will create a new record, and it is interesting to see how its very able managers are setting about it. We have now four numbers before us, and their varied contents might be criticized from many different standpoints. What the friendly critic has to recognize is that if he keep to any one standpoint he will scarcely find it possible to do justice. For the problem of the 'Bibliophile' is not unlike that which is supposed to underlie the Arabian Nights, where a lady, whose name we will not attempt to spell from memory, has to hold the attention of the Sultan night after night on pain of losing her head. Not all of our own articles are dull, but we have established our right to be as dull as we find necessary, because we have gradually secured the support of a sufficient number of hardened book-lovers to

keep us afloat, and the hardened book-lover is willing to help find paper and print for facts and theories which are not very interesting in themselves, because they will ultimately help to clear up points about books for which he cares. But a popular magazine must never be dull, and the editor of the 'Bibliophile' has avoided dullness with as much ability as Scheherazade (we have looked up the spelling) herself. Even in the rare case when an article cannot from any point of view be called good, it is never dull. Thus a dissertation on 'The Romance of Papermarks,' suggested by M. Briquet's great book 'Les filigranes,' is mischievous and misleading, but it escapes dullness by the very wildness of its imaginations, and the editor can hardly be blamed for having put his faith in a writer who has every opportunity for being an expert, but apparently prefers 'romance' to history. No one is allowed even to approach prolixity, for all the articles are kept rigidly short. Almost every article, moreover, is illustrated, and the illustrations are well chosen, so that there is always something pretty for the eye to rest on. Moreover, it has been realized that the book-lover in his earlier stages is interested in many things besides books, and for his amusement and relaxation articles are provided in every number on a variety of other subjects, notably on prints and postage-stamps and old furniture. We are bold to hope that soon these may disappear, and that the 'Bibliophile' will find sufficient supporters who are content to purchase a magazine concerned with books and books only. For books are treated here

not only for their printing, illustration, or binding, or for curious incidents in their history, but also for their literary qualities. The first article in each number is specially devoted to the literary aspects of books, the four contributors being Mr. Chesterton, Mr. Arthur Symons, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, and Mr. Austin Dobson. The range of books reviewed, moreover, is wide, and the reviewers are for the most part men who have earned the right to speak on the subjects on which they write. Of the longer articles on topics in which 'THE LIBRARY' is specially interested, the excellent account of 'Breydenbach's Pilgrimage,' by Mr. Esdaile may, perhaps, be selected as the best, for it combines the merits of being informative, amusing, and accompanied by delightful illustrations. Mr. Pollard writes about 'Early Book Advertisements,' taking unusual pains to sweeten information with hilarity. Mr. Samuel Clegg has a good account of 'Thomas Hollis: book-lover, politician, and philanthropist,' now chiefly remembered by his book-bindings, which are duly illustrated. Mr. Redgrave, as a Ratdolt specialist, writes a note on the Ratdolt design, which has been borrowed for the border of the magazine. Miss D. G. McChesney gives an account of 'Eikon Basilike Deutera,' a satire on Charles II., of which not much has been heard. Mrs. Arthur Bell takes for her subject 'Finely Illustrated Books, and borrows from them many pretty pictures. It is obvious that the 'Bibliophile' has set itself to provide something for all tastes, and a man must be hard to please who will assert that it has not been successful.

The Libraries of London: a guide for students. Prepared on the instruction of the Senate of the University of London, by Reginald Arthur Rye, Goldsmiths' Librarian of the University of London. London: published by the University.

It would be difficult to overpraise this useful and unpretentious little book. Here in something under a hundred pages is a careful stock-taking of the library facilities of London. After a brief introduction, in the course of which the estimate is advanced that 'the number of volumes in the public and administrative libraries, and in the libraries of societies and institutions of London is approximately 8,000,000,' we have annotated lists (i.) of the general libraries in the order of their size; (ii.) of the special libraries, arranged alphabetically according to their subjects; (iii.) of libraries connected with educational institutions, arranged, like the first section, according to size. The notes, both as to the histories of the libraries and as to the classes of books to be found in them, are exactly what are wanted, and as far as we are able to test them, they prove very accurate. Any one who possesses this little manual will have a better knowledge of where to go for a book in London than it has hitherto been possible to obtain. Lest the fact that no fewer than 8,000,000 volumes are available for readers should inspire unseasonable pride, or no less unseasonable lethargy, Mr. Rye points out that Greater London is thus only provided with a little over one volume per head of its population, whereas in Berlin they have two, and in Dresden three. So there is still need for progress.

